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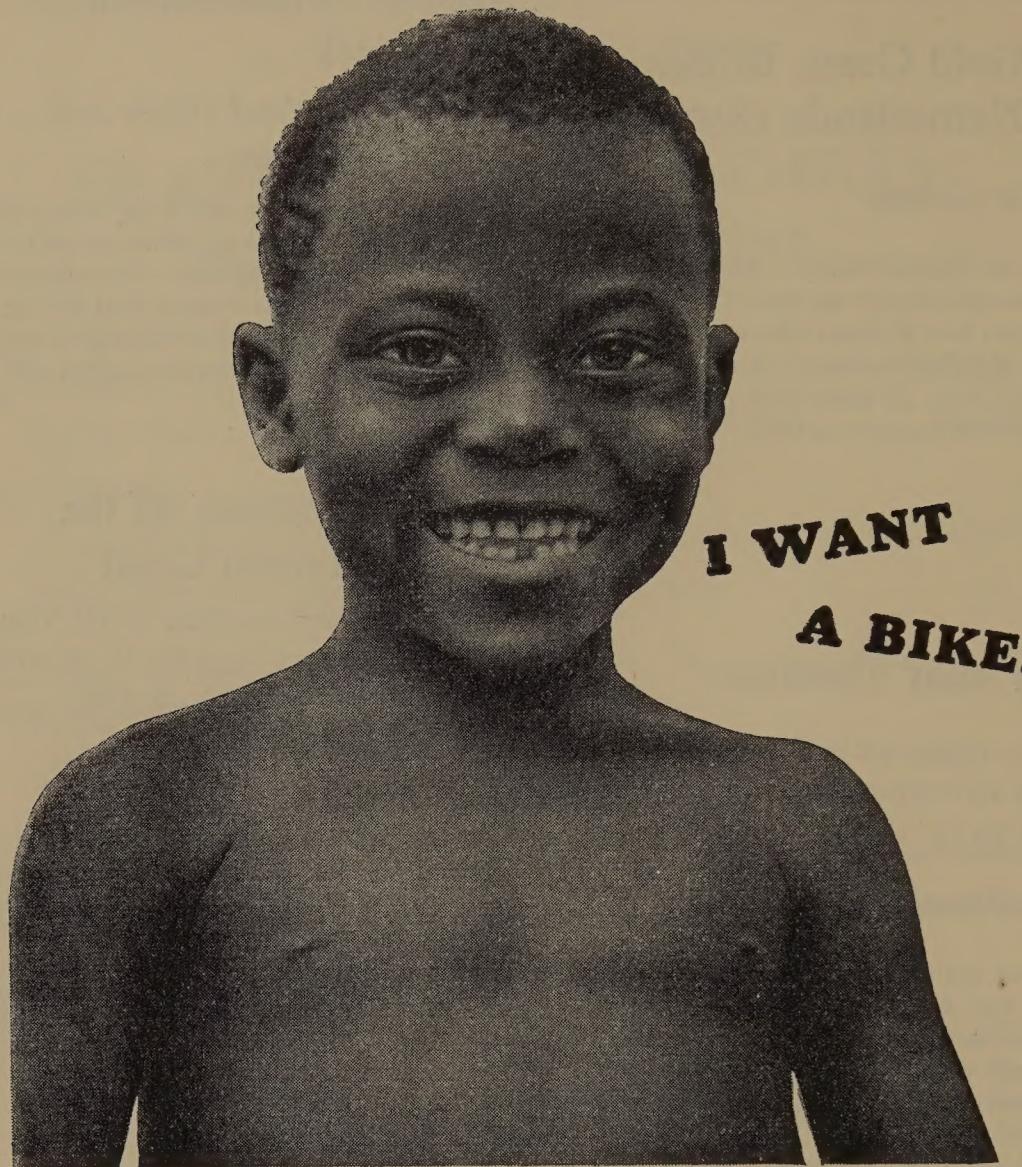
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A F R I C A

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OBITUARY

PROFESSOR MELVILLE J. HERSKOVITS, 1895-1963

MEMBERS of the International African Institute will have learned with deep regret that Professor Melville J. Herskovits, a member of its Executive Council since 1947 and the doyen of African Studies in the United States, died in February last at his home in Evanston, Illinois, after a short illness. He had returned shortly before from the December 1962 meeting of the First International Congress of Africanists at Ghana University where he had taken a leading part in the discussions and in framing the organization for this Congress. This was to be the last of his many journeys in Africa over recent years, during which he became so well known for his energetic and outspoken encouragement of African studies and realistic approaches to modern African development.

Professor Herskovits's interest in Africa grew out of his early studies in the twenties, at Columbia University, on the 'cattle-complex' in Africa and on the physical anthropology of the American Negro. From these he developed his life-long interest in the cultural history of negro peoples which led him to undertake, with his wife and co-worker, Frances Herskovits, a series of field studies in Trinidad, Dutch Guiana, Brazil, and West Africa. He published a general survey of Afro-American studies in *The Myth of the Negro Past* (1941). Their fieldwork in Dahomey in 1931 yielded a valuable body of new and detailed ethnographical material in *An Outline of Dahomean Religious Belief* (1933), *Dahomey* (2 vols., 1938) and *Dahomean Narrative* (1958). Alongside his deep concern for exposing the ethno-centrism and the confusion of physical with cultural factors in prejudiced attitudes towards other peoples, his theoretical interests included a comparative survey of the economic systems of pre-industrial societies (*Economic Anthropology*, 1949), and he had most recently contributed a Foreword to a large collection of studies on *Markets in Africa* (P. Bohannan and G. Dalton, eds., 1963) published in the African Studies Series of his University.

From his post at Northwestern University, where he was Professor of Anthropology from 1935 and Director of its Program of African Studies from 1951, Herskovits pioneered the development of African Studies in the United States. Although American missionaries, such as Harley and others, made valuable ethnographic

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contributions, he was until the forties the only professional anthropologist concentrating his own work and stimulating research in this field. In the post-war period, with command of greatly increased resources, he enabled a growing number of younger American anthropologists to carry out field studies under his direction and also promoted inter-disciplinary studies through the Seminar at Northwestern which many scholars from Africa and Europe also visited. His own interests extended over the whole field of modern development in Africa, on which he was widely consulted in Africa itself as well as in the United States, and more recently he fortunately had the leisure to complete and publish, before his death, his own appraisal of *The Human Factor in Changing Africa* (1962).

Professor Herskovits's counsel and support were greatly valued in the International African Institute for the catholicity of his outlook, his wide knowledge of conditions and opportunities for research, and not least for the international spirit in which he approached its activities and problems. He will be greatly missed and his many friends on its council and among its members will wish to express their recognition of the importance of his work and their sympathy with his family and his American colleagues in the loss of so outstanding a figure.

D. F.

A FURTHER CONTRIBUTION TO THE STUDY OF ZANDE CULTURE

E. E. EVANS-Pritchard

IN a recent number of *Africa* (October 1960) I showed that a number of Zande cultivated plants must have been borrowed from other peoples and that others were probably borrowed too. The points there emphasized were: firstly, that the agricultural economy of the Azande is derived from many different sources; secondly, that the Azande themselves see it that way; and thirdly, that in the past it must have been much simpler than in recent times, leading us to suppose that there has probably been a connexion between bionomic development and political development. I now turn to a consideration of certain arts and crafts to show further that it is not only in the cultivation of plants that Zande culture is a complex of borrowed elements, as the people themselves are a complex of peoples of different ethnic origins, but also in their material culture generally. I do not attempt to cover all of their material culture, only some parts of it for illustration and as an indication of the extent to which it has been taken over from peoples absorbed into the original Mbomu stock or from neighbouring peoples. In a final article I shall give a few examples of borrowing in areas of the social life other than those of cultivation of plants and the arts and crafts. The evidence cited in the three articles will, I hope, justify the remark for which the late Dr. Lowie was so much criticized, that a culture may indeed be aptly described as a thing of shreds and patches (a garment of bits and pieces, but a garment all the same). A final note in this final article will attempt to determine what has given unity to this ethnic, cultural, and social conglomeration we speak of today as 'Zande'.

I commence with the craft of building. Round huts with conic roofs are, as Schweinfurth (1873, i, p. 523) and Junker (1891, pp. 145-6) noted, the prevailing style everywhere till the Uele river is approached, where, and beyond it, they are replaced by square gable-roofed dwellings. According to Czekanowski (p. 41) the Azande of the south had adopted in his day (1907-8) gable-roofs, though their buildings still showed relics of the old round huts. Baumann (1927, p. 32) remarks that conical roofs tend to be typical of a homestead distribution and gable-roofs of village concentrations. Those Azande I questioned on the matter in the Sudan said that the old Mbomu walled dwelling-hut is that which is still the most usual habitation in Gbudwe's old kingdom, the *gbuguru* or *gbasendeyo*, a hut with solid mud walls—the only wood used in them being the lintels—but lacking a clay foundation. My informants added that, compared with today, there were very few of these well-made huts in past times. An elder might have built one for his senior wife but his other wives had to be content with a *dondoma*, a hut without walls and with very low eaves, or a *basura* (or *barumai*), a simple sleeping-hut, often nowadays erected as a temporary shelter. The first is said to be of Mbomu, and the second of Miangba, origin: *mbata kina Amiangba na tona dudu basura*, 'it was the Amiangba who were the first to build the *basura*'. Azande regard the *badika*, a hut with clay walls in which stakes are imbedded, as introduced, possibly also from the Amiangba. The wattle-

walled huts, sometimes with clay inserted into the interstices, called *nanderugi* and *nakukpe* (or *tame nanderugi*) are a mode of building said to have come from the south, as is the mode of construction called *tatasende*, building on a raised platform of beaten clay to keep vermin out. However, the hut of this type called *kata* was, Azande told me, copied from the Abangbai (the Bombeh of the early travellers) to the east, who now speak Zande but were originally part of a foreign people with their own tongue, the Adio: *Ambomu ki ni di sunge e be yo ka dudua a, si na kodi ti ru na gbuguru ti gu rago re*, 'the Ambomu took the mode of construction from them, and it then joined with the *gbuguru*' (as part of their culture). Junker (1890, pp. 308-9) mentions what is evidently the *kata* among these same Bombeh: 'For the substructure they utilize the hard hillocks of the termites (*Termes mordax*), from which they quarry tolerably uniform blocks about a foot thick, and quite impervious to the rain.' Marno (p. 131) also appears to mention it.

The hut called *basa*, crudely constructed, without walls, and tunnel-shaped and barn-like in appearance, is put up in the bush to shelter boys during initiation by circumcision and for meetings of secret societies (closed associations). It is said, together with circumcision, to have been taken over from the Amadi: *Amadi na enge pa basa, mbiko kina yo na tona yera aboro ni ganza*, 'it was the Amadi who originated the *basa*, because it was they who began to circumcise'. On the other hand a hut without walls or with very low walls, the roof resting on a circle of stakes and reaching almost to the ground, called *yepu* or *bazambe* or *bayepu*, is said to be old Mbomu. It is particularly built by princes for shelter when they sit in court. The *basungo* is much the same type of hut but seems to be mainly distinguished by its floor of clay. King Tombo's hut at court may have been of this type, though it appears to have had some peculiar features, as described by Piaggia (1868, p. 112), who says that the natives called it *bancaio*, which he translates 'il divano di un Sultano' (what he heard may have been *ngbanga yo*, meaning 'at court'). The *yapoo* (*yepu*) is mentioned by Schweinfurth (1875, tab. xi). Another type of hut—I am uncertain of the manner of its construction—and the name for it, *toli*, were taken over from the Mangbetu; and a square hut, *gbiliki*, has recently been copied from European rest-houses. It is not clear to which huts Fr. Giorgetti (1957, p. 181) refers when he says that the huts with very high cones, still in use where one finds people of Barambo descent, have been borrowed by Azande from that people.

There have been losses as well as gains. This is evident from Schweinfurth's drawings in his *Artes Africanae*, in which there are a number of features one sees no more; and there is no reason to suppose that their disappearance was in most cases directly connected with the entry of Arab and European elements; though it is possible that European administration was a circumstance which led to the disuse of the 'little huts, with bell-shaped roofs, erected in a goblet-shape upon a substructure of clay, and furnished with only one small aperture' (1873, 2, pp. 20-21). They were called *bamogee* and were sleeping-places for 'the bigger boys of the better class' (1875, tab. xi). On inquiry, I was told that such huts were usually, and in some parts till recently, to be seen at courts, other features of which have slowly vanished after European conquest. I cannot recollect having seen any drawing of them or other reference to them in the writings of any other early traveller or in those of the earliest administrators and ethnologists—de Calonne, Hutereau, Czekanowski, &c.—

a circumstance which suggests that they may have been peculiar to the most easterly part of Zande country through which Schweinfurth's route lay and therefore of foreign origin. One informant said he thought they belonged to Madi culture but that this was only a surmise on his part.

Every Zande householder today has a granary with a movable roof, called *gbamu*, for storing his eleusine. They are figured by Schweinfurth (1875, tab. xi). This type of granary is said to have been borrowed, though a very long time ago, like the culture of eleusine itself, from the Amiangba: *Azande nga Ambomu a bi e be Amiangba. Ga Ambomu ghamu na ngia kina gburuki na soro. Ono kina Amiangba ki ni tona gu nga ghamu, Ambomu ki ni bi e be yo ka dia a. Dungu ae du be Ambomu nga gu i a bi kina be kura aboro kia*, 'Those Azande who are Ambomu saw it with the Amiangba. The Mbomu granaries were the *gburuki* and the *soro*. But it was the Amiangba who started the *gbamu*, and the Ambomu saw it with them and took it over. Many things the Ambomu possess they took over from other peoples'. The *gburuki* is a grain-store not raised on supports, and the *soro* is an unusually large grain-store with a door instead of a movable roof. The latter is mostly built by wealthier persons, but neither, in my experience, is often to be seen today.

Besides being competent builders in a variety of styles, the Azande have enjoyed a reputation as smiths, potters, and wood-carvers. However, the origin of both smelting and smithery is attributed to various peoples to the south and west of Gbudwe's kingdom, Mangbetu, Amadi, Basiri, and Abandiya: *i na tona ka meka gbigiwi*, 'it was they who started to make kilns'. It is particularly the Basiri, to the west, who are spoken of as the originators of these arts: *ono agu aboro na enge mara na meka gbigiwi, kina Abasiri*, 'but the people who began metal-working and smelting, they are the Basiri'. Curiously enough I have also been told, though it is hard to believe, that the Azande also learnt how to make fire by drilling with sticks from them: *Abasiri na enge pa pakasa sa gayo mara*, 'it was the Basiri who started making fire with sticks on account of their iron-working'; *si ki ni ye ka da ti Azande*, 'and then it came to the Azande'. However, Azande say that it is only a tradition that they learnt to smelt and work iron from others, for they have practised these skills for a very long time. So, even if they learnt them from others, it was so long ago that most of what they now fashion in iron may be said to be part of their indigenous material culture: spears, knives, throwing-knives, hoes, axes, hammers, rings for wrists, arms and ankles, hair-pins, beads, rattles, &c. On the other hand, some iron artifacts are said definitely to be of a more recent foreign origin. Arrows (*aguanza*) used by some of the subject peoples, and harpoons (*akatawa*) belong to the Amadi, the Belanda, and the Abuguru. The Ambomu were spearmen. But some of their spears also appear to have been borrowed from their neighbours. Fr. Giorgetti (1957, p. 181) says that the war-spears most spoken of, the *andigbo*, were peculiar to the Amadi and were adopted by the Azande from them. I was told that the Ambomu have borrowed other types of spear from the Mangbetu (*ngbingbi, gbagbaza, mandende*), a large knife (*mawida*), and the ceremonial kind of knife called *nadada*, which has been added to the old Mbomu type, the *badevurambiyo*. Czekanowski (p. 36) asserts that the Azande use two types of spears, throwing-spears and heavier thrusting-spears, and he says that the first do not differ from those of the Mangbetu. The second (*deli*) are said to belong to the original Zande weapons. The implication is that the throwing-

spears were Mangbetu in origin in contrast to the thrusting-spears which were Mbomu; but thrusting-spears have never been heard of by me and are not mentioned by any other writer on the Azande and, therefore, one must suppose, were only to be found in the south, where Czekanowski conducted his researches. This would suggest a foreign origin.

Here it must be emphasized that the Ambomu are undoubtedly indebted to the Mangbetu for many improvements in their arts. This is evident, as will be further noted later, in the drawings Schweinfurth made nearly a century ago; and he remarks (1875, tab. xiii) that in 1870 the two peoples engaged in trade. Furthermore, Junker (1892, p. 38) observed in 1882 that the Azande who lived near the Mangbetu had adopted some of their fashions. Besides those metal objects already mentioned, from the same direction came also the *abeni*, a specially well-worked ceremonial knife (or scimitar) with an ivory handle. Indeed Czekanowski (p. 144) suggests, I think rightly, that the ceremonial knife as such (*mambele* in Zande, *nambele* in Mangbetu), which he calls 'Buschmesser', may well be Mangbetu in origin. A few smiths in Gbudwe's kingdom and during his reign mastered the art of making the more elaborate of these ceremonial knives. One type of axe, called *bamangwa*, which has a little spike so that it can be stuck into the ground and was made not so much for use as for bridewealth, is also Mangbetu. The throwing-knife is certainly an old Mbomu weapon, but the sort called *kpinga basa*, which lacks the small protuberance between the two front blades, the distinguishing mark of the Mbomu type (see, for example, Czekanowski, p. 37), came from the Abandiya, though it was in use in Schweinfurth's time (1875, tab. xii). He also tells us (1873, 2, pp. 9-10) that the Mangbetu, far more skilful smiths than the Azande, supplied the latter with some of these weapons, receiving in return heavy lances for hunting elephant and buffalo. The Mangbetu, he says (1873, 2, p. 108), do not themselves use the throwing-knife. Czekanowski (p. 138) cites Emin Pasha (p. 211) in support of the view that the iron hair-pins (see, for example, Schweinfurth, 1873, 1, p. 472) rarely seen among the Mangbetu are due to Zande influence. One sort of adze (*naba*) is said to be Mbomu; another type to be Miangba. It may be added that Piaggia (p. 132) does not give the impression that he regarded the Azande of a century ago as being more than moderately competent in the manufacture of metal objects.

Smelting of iron was an almost dead technique in my day, trade iron having rendered the exacting labour of working local ores unnecessary, but smithery was still required and was commonly practised. Here again, some fashions have disappeared since the time of the early travellers, e.g. throwing-knives are no longer manufactured nor the spiral iron rings (*maka*, an Mbomu ornament) once worn round arms and legs by women (see, for example, Junker, 1890, p. 340).

Some copper had been introduced from the south. In the first instance this must, I think, have come from the Katanga region to the south of the Congo, and, though it is possible that some copper may later have been imported into the Negro countries from the north, from Hofrat al-Nahas and possibly elsewhere; Schweinfurth (1873, 2, p. 19) tells us that it was well known to the Mangbetu before the Arabs first entered their country. Czekanowski (p. 133) remarks in this connexion that copper is said to have come from the mines of Hofrat al-Nahas to the Mangbetu before the Belgian occupation. This is a difficult problem, and I have only to add that when

Cline in his study of Negro mining and metallurgy (pp. 68 and 72) says, on the statement of a single authority,¹ that the Azande mined copper I believe him to be in error; and he himself admits that no copper ores occur in the Uele Basin or that, if they do, they are unworkable. Czekanowski (p. 130) states that there seem to be no copper ores in the Uele Basin.

Passing reference may here be made to the introduction of guns: muskets and then rifles. They differ from the other metal objects I have mentioned in that Azande acquired the objects themselves but not the art of making them. It is partly for that reason that the reference is only a passing one. The introduction of the rifle, which began before 1870, had profound political as well as tactical consequences. It enabled the Azande to resist more effectively Arab aggression; it gave them superiority in weapons as well as in organization over most of their neighbours; it altered the balance of power between Zande kingdoms, those monarchs who were able to obtain the most guns being able to gain empires for themselves at the expense of their neighbours; and it had other consequences. I have discussed some of them elsewhere (1957 and 1958). The subject requires special treatment.

Azande men are expert potters, or so it seemed to me, for I attempted without much success to master the art under their guidance. This is said to be a craft of the Ambomu, who made certain types of pottery (*duku*, *gbukudali*, *kambu*, *bazangoli*, *akoro mbida ime*, *kpongú*) used for carrying water, ablutions, brewing beer, boiling oil, roasting and boiling meat, &c. Some pots are said to be both Mbomu and Miangba (*mele*, *runge*, *bayuruyuru*, and others), while yet others are said to be solely of Miangba origin or to have come from south of the Uele river. On the whole, it was asserted that small-mouthed pots were Mbomu and that designs with larger mouths came from the south, especially from the Mangbetu. The Mangbetu undoubtedly excelled the Azande as potters and their influence on Zande pottery is probably to be noted in the beer-jug with four necks, the property of King Ngangi, which Schweinfurth figures in his *Artes Africanae* (1875, tab. xv). They exerted this influence in spite of the fact that only men are potters among the Azande, whereas among the Mangbetu pots are exclusively made by women (Czekanowski, p. 129). Geyer (p. 304), writing of the Azande to the west of Gbudwe's old kingdom, says that the best pots come from the Belanda people, from whom the Azande have learnt much. Some of the best pottery in Gbudwe's kingdom came from the same source. The best type of clay used for making pots in that kingdom, *mokanga*, a red clay, appears to be found only in its eastern districts and may therefore be presumed to have been utilized by Ambomu only after they had occupied them.

Of another clay article, the bowl of tobacco-pipes, I was told that a small bowl, into which a long wooden stem is fitted, is Mbomu and a large bowl with mouth-piece, stem, and bowl being of one clay piece is Miangba. Schweinfurth (1875, tab. xv) figures both types and says that the shape of the small bowl in the first, which he describes as 'a chieftain's state-pipe', was copied from the Bongo people. Piaggia (p. 127) says that it was the practice to mould the figure of a human head on

¹ The source is a few lines reporting a paper by M. Bellucci at the International Congress of Ethnology and Ethnography at Neuchâtel in *L'Anthropologie*, vol. xxv, 1914, p. 373. The place

of the copper-working is not mentioned. Certainly the industry does not exist among the Azande of the Sudan.

the outside of clay pipes. Junker (1892, p. 287), who also figures both types of pipe, has an illustration of the moulding of the human face. The moulding of human features was probably due to foreign influences, possibly both Mangbetu, to the south, and Bongo, to the north, for it is very seldom that one comes across a Zande who moulds or carves the human figure or any part of it. However, the Mangbetu themselves, Schweinfurth (1873, 2, p. 24) assures us, do not use pipe-bowls, their pipes having for stems the central ribs of banana leaves while a little bag cut out of the same leaves serves in the place of a bowl. This is confirmed by Czekanowski (p. 128): they smoke tobacco in enormous pipes made from the ribs of banana leaves. I mention this fact because the Azande also make use of the same sort of pipe, called *apokobu*, when they have left their usual pipes at home and have the opportunity to smoke, and they say that they learnt its use from the Mangbetu, from whom they may also have learnt to cultivate the banana, as I have earlier suggested (1960, pp. 316-17).

The Azande have today something of a reputation as wood-carvers, but they are ready to admit that they learnt their more elaborate modes of carving from peoples beyond the Uele, and more particularly from the Mangbetu, who, as is well known, are skilled carvers—their skill, according to Schweinfurth (1873, 2, p. 21), being largely due to their knowledge of the use of single-bladed knives which allow control by the index finger. Emin (p. 213) states the contrary when, speaking of Mangbetu carving, he remarks that 'It is true, however, that real artists, who carve heads and figures, &c., are more numerous amongst the A-Zandē'. Emin's knowledge of the Azande was slight—he was only acquainted, and rather superficially, with the Zandeized Adio to the east, and his knowledge of the Mangbetu was also very limited; so I have no hesitation in contradicting him in this matter and, in doing so, agreeing with what is implied, with regard to wood-carving, in a remark by Casati (i, p. 97), who, though he may not have been so industrious a recorder as Emin, knew very much more about both peoples than he did: 'the Sandeh are greatly admired for their ironwork; the Mambettu are remarkable for the perfection of their wood-carving. . . .' If, however, his remarks are intended also to suggest that the Azande were more skilled smiths than the Mangbetu the evidence is against him. Czekanowski (p. 31) is surely right when he says that the Mangbetu surpass the Azande in both smithery and wood-carving.

The Azande of Gbudwe's kingdom say that it was their brothers of Wando's kingdom, which bordered Mangbetuland, who first learnt to carve in Mangbetu fashion and that the skill passed from them to those of Malingindo's kingdom and finally, and only lately, reached Gbudwe's territory. They say also that people who journeyed to the south to collect poison for the poison oracle brought home new techniques with them. I have heard further that it was not till a man called Bomo of the Avumaka clan, a skilled carver, and his kinsmen sought refuge in Gbudwe's kingdom during the wars between Wando's sons Ukwe and Renzi towards the end of last century that the more elaborate carving was established in the north; and even at the end of Gbudwe's reign there were very few specialists. It is still recounted how the first attempts at carving the more elaborate sort of stools began with that known as *barute* and were a crude performance. Nevertheless, Schweinfurth's drawings, made in 1870 and 1871, would indicate that at any rate some of the eastern

Azande had already by that time been strongly influenced by Mangbetu styles of carving bowls and stools, and this is particularly noticeable in the carving of human heads on harps and whistles, the latter now no longer to be seen in the Sudan, some of which show the artificially deformed Mangbetu head; but this does not necessarily mean that they were carved by Zande craftsmen, for it was a common practice for those who journeyed to the south to collect oracle-poison to bring back with them, also Mangbetu artifacts, carefully bound in leaves, to present to their princes. The objects could therefore have been observed by Schweinfurth in Zande country without the manufacture of them having been practised there. He would have been more likely to have taken note of them than of simpler specimens. Czakanowski (p. 39) says that the carved human heads on harps among the southern Azande are usually interpreted as a caricature of a deformed Mangbetu head. I would suggest that they were a copy rather than a caricature. So little is this an art among the Azande of the Sudan that I can recollect only one craftsman who habitually carved the human figure in Gbudwe's kingdom, and in his figures the head was clearly the elongated Mangbetu head.

Of the wooden bowls now carved by Azande only two are claimed to be Zande, even in the broadest sense of that term: the *baza*, a simple bowl resembling the shell of a tortoise, from which it is said to have been copied, and used for serving porridge, and the *kolongbo ime*, a plainly worked bowl, largely used for bailing out water. All their other bowls—to mention only a few, *badungu*, *gada*, *barungbanduru*, *sambirambira*, *sasilikpera*, and *kpasia kolongbo*—are foreign, and most probably Mangbetu, styles. They say also that the only wooden stool which is old Mbomu is that called *zagbali*, the simplest of their stools. Schweinfurth (1875, tab. xiv, fig. iv) gives a drawing of it. The more elaborately worked stools (*barute*, *kpanga*, *mbata*, and others) have been either imported from the south or carved by persons who have learnt Mangbetu techniques and designs, as Baumann (1927, pp. 29–30) has observed. The stool called *kitipara*, now very commonly constructed by Gbudwe's Azande, is obviously a copy of the Mangbetu bench, and as it is not figured among Schweinfurth's *artes Azandeae*, it may be presumed to be, as Azande say it is, a recent introduction. Lagae and Vanden Plas (pt. 2, p. 79) give the word *kiti*, seat, and say that it is a loan-word, though it is not, apparently, the Mangbetu term, which Czakanowski tells us (p. 150) is *nekalagba*. In his commentary on his drawing for this Mangbetu bench Schweinfurth (1875, tab. xvii, fig. 18) remarks on its ingenious workmanship, being the only example of joinery he knew of in Central Africa. Over 30 years ago, in my time, some of the nobles were using cane chairs modelled on the European deck-chair. Azande attribute the fine finish of the more elaborately worked handles to their knives to the Mangbetu. Czakanowski (p. 67) remarks of the wooden containers of red dye among the Azande of the south—they are rarely to be seen in the Sudan and only among wealthier persons—that the frequent carved imitations of Mangbetu heads on them is very striking. They would appear to have originated among that people. The wooden trough-like mortar, called *gbakada*, with its accompanying pestle figured by Schweinfurth (1875, tab. xiii, fig. 23) had become obsolete before my first expedition to Zandeland in 1927. It is said to have been of Miangba origin. Schweinfurth does not mention the upright mortar (*baruaru*) now universally used and said to be the Mbomu one, but it must have been in use in his time, for both types of

mortar are mentioned and figured by Junker (1891, p. 170), and he himself says of the trough-like type that 'This is the ordinary form of the mortar, used for bruising the hard Eleusine corn', which suggests that there was another form in use. I was told that the Ambomu, having adopted the trough-like mortar from the Amiangba, later abandoned it because the women used to squat over it when pounding.

It may be mentioned here that the kind of wooden shrine, called *mbama*, which Schweinfurth (1873, 1, p. 449) speaks of as a conspicuous object in Zande homesteads and which he figures in *The Heart of Africa* (i, p. 517) is of foreign, probably of Madi or Miangba, origin. It is a dead shrub on the branches of which are hung trophies of the chase and, in Schweinfurth's time, of war also, human skulls and other bones. The ordinary old Mbomu shrine is the *tuka*, a stake split at the top and with the split sections bound to form a receptacle for offerings. This kind of shrine is not mentioned by Schweinfurth, and his failure to do so is further evidence in support of the view, referred to in my earlier article (1960, p. 312), that he was travelling through country in which the Ambomu were sparsely represented and the foreign elements still unassimilated.

I did not myself make inquiries into the origin of objects worked in ivory and bone. Fr. Giorgetti (1957, p. 181) says that the hair-pins of human fibula belonged to the Madi culture, as did the word for them, *nguma*, a term which later entered into the Zande language and was applied to the fibula of baboons. He also claims that the necklaces of dogs' and baboons' teeth and of worked ivory were all of Barambo-Madi workmanship. He furnishes this information in an attempt to show that Schweinfurth, who mentions the objects referred to, was in the main, as suggested above, writing about only partly assimilated foreigners rather than about Ambomu or true Azande.

The most impressive objects plaited with cane or grass must in the old days have been the shields, figured in drawings and photographs of travellers (see, for example, Schweinfurth, 1873, 2, p. 12). There were four varieties, three of the Ambomu (*kube*, *bazakube*, *kpangbada*) and one (*tuango*) borrowed from the Amiangba. Lagae and Vanden Plas (pt. 1, p. 44; pt. 2, p. 50) also give four types of shield, but instead of the names *bazakube* and *tuango* they mention *gbiliga* and *gbulu*, the last, it would appear, being not of plaited cane, for they say it was *en bois noir ci*, adding that it was borrowed from some foreign people to the south; though the Gores (pp. 48, 261), who give the same two names, say that it was a cane shield. The bearing of shields seems to have been forbidden by the British Administration soon after its occupation, so that, except for a few old ones preserved out of sentiment, they were no longer to be seen in the 1920s, though there were craftsmen who could still make them. I have briefly referred in my earlier article (1960, p. 312) to another plaited object, the Zande straw hat, circular at the base and square on top (see, for example, Schweinfurth, 1873, p. 439). I said that the hat itself was old Mbomu but that some features of it in its final development, designs worked into the sides and a brim, were taken over from foreigners, the first from the Mangbetu and the second from Europeans. I believe this statement to be correct, but I must record that Czekanowski (p. 32) says that Azande told him that these straw hats are Mangbetu, though they predominate among the Azande to the south of the Bomokandi. It would seem to be on this evidence that Baumann (1927, p. 19) states that the Azande took them over from

the Mangbetu and that they then ousted skin caps. He further remarks that the only woven articles of the Azande in the manufacture of which the technique of stepped weaving ('*Stufengeflechtes*')¹ is employed are these hats of the Mangbetu type.

Of mats, the type called *karakpa* is said to be both Mbomu and Miangba, while those called *nakorogbo* and *bagburu* came from the Abile people to the south of the Bomokandi, a branch of the Azande containing a high proportion of foreign elements; and from the same direction, I was told, were introduced the kinds of basket-strainer (*sanza*), winnowing-basket (*kiaga*), and sieve (*kangira*) in use in the Sudan today. Of open-wove baskets, the one of widest mesh (*mbambamba* or *bangilimbara*) is Mbomu and the *bangiliadandara* and the *ngindi* are Miangba. The Amiangba are also said to have given the Ambomu the reed-basket called *buma* and the scoop (*kate*) used in collecting termites. The filtering-basket (*kisanguru*) is common to all the peoples of the Zande amalgam. The *kokpo*, a basket on four legs, is Mangbetu. The largest kind of bag (*bamangu*) is Mbomu, though a specially well-worked handle that sometimes adorns it is copied from the Mangbetu. Other types of bags are believed to have come mostly from the Uele region, though I was told that one sort was copied from the Baka people. The funnel-shaped baskets used to trap mice (*ngbatu*) are of two kinds, the one Mbomu and the other Miangba. Czekanowski (p. 152) mentions similar traps among the Mangbetu, by whom they are called *gala*. Specimens collected by myself are figured in *Man*, 1932, 77 in a paper by Henry Balfour. The grass purses one sometimes sees in use today to hold piastres are, like the leather purses one also occasionally sees, copied from trade purses.

Azande are very fond of music. Their great wooden gongs (*gugu*, also called *borua*) are Mbomu (photographs of King Gbudwe's gong were published in *Man*, 1911, 8 by C. G. Seligmann). A smaller kind, *karakara*, said to be called *makureki* by the Mangbetu, came from beyond the Uele. The skin-drum (*gaza*, *ndimo*) is Mbomu. It is interesting to note that Schweinfurth says that the Mangbetu have no xylophone (1873, 2, p. 25), so that here the influence has been in the contrary to usual direction, Czekanowski (p. 147) saying that in his day they were rare among the Mangbetu and where found were due to Zande influence. He (p. 39) believes, contrary to Ankermann's view, that the xylophone is non-African in origin. The Azande have two kinds, the *manza*, made of wood and with a sounding-board of gourds (see, for example, Junker, 1892, p. 14), which is old Mbomu, and the *kpaningba*, made of banana stalks and wood, which probably came from some people to the south. The large bow-harp (*kundi*), sometimes described as a mandolin, is also a true Mbomu instrument—it is particularly favoured by the nobles—though the carved human heads figured on it are, as has already been said, due to Mangbetu influence (see, for example, Schweinfurth, 1873, 1, p. 445). Here the cultural drift seems again to have been in the opposite to usual direction, for Schweinfurth (1873 (2), p. 25; 1873, 2, p. 117) tells us that the Mangbetu do not have mandolins or indeed any other stringed instruments, while Czekanowski (p. 146) says that the Zande type of mandolin occurs among that people only where Zande influence is strong. He (p. 39) is of the opinion that Ankermann has proved that the instrument came to Central Africa from Asia by way of the Semitic and Egyptian peoples. Casati (1, p. 195) says that both Azande and Mangbetu have the same stringed instrument which (in translation) is

¹ Miss Beatrice Blackwood tells me that the usual technical term for this sort of weaving is 'double twill'.

called mandolin and also guitar. There seems to be some confusion in the literature between harp, mandolin, and guitar. An improvised harp (*sekiondi*), made by boys and played in a game, is attributed to the Basiri people. The sanza, a plucked idiophone (*ngbangbari*), entered Gbudwe's kingdom only after his death (1905). It may have first reached the Azande from the Mangbetu, but it has a very wide distribution in Central Africa, as Dr. Maes has shown ('La Sanza du Congo Belge', *Congo*, t. 1, 1921). Czakanowski (p. 40) says that it appears to have been brought to the Azande by native soldiers and workers of the Belgian Administration. *Banangbari*, large wooden bells, now obsolete, came from the south. Witchdoctors' hand-bells or rattles may belong to the old Mbomu culture. Certainly they have been part of it for a very long time. Ivory trumpets, now no longer seen, and various hunting-horns may also be Mbomu; I have no information about them beyond the statement that one kind of trumpet, composed of a waterbuck horn fitted into a gourd, was copied from the Abuguru people. Wooden whistles sometimes made by boys as playthings are copied from European models and are called by the Arabic name *sufara*. Czakanowski (p. 40) says that Zande rattles do not differ from those of the Mangbetu.

Dances may be diffused together with the musical instruments which accompany them, and they are often readily taken over by one people from another. This has undoubtedly been the case with the Azande, though in most instances I would not be able to describe their dances, some obsolete today, only to name them. The ancient Mbomu dances are said to have been the *bagbere*, a dance to gong and drum, the xylophone-dance (*gbere manza*), and a dance, unknown to me, called *ngbundu*. The usual dance of today, the beer-dance (*gbere buda*), is similar in ground-form to the *bagbere*, which it appears to have replaced, though perhaps as a development rather than an introduction. It is alleged that the beer-dance ousted the older dance in spite of Gbudwe's dislike of it. It was favoured by the younger generation. Since Gbudwe's death the beer-dance has lost something of its form; it has become, Azande say, *gbarakagbaraka*, 'all mixed up'. Probably from the south came another dance to xylophones (*gbere kpaningba*) together with that sort of instrument; certainly also the circumcision dance (*gbere agangasi*) together with the operation, and dances now, I believe, no longer performed, called *nzangbua*, *akpuka*, accompanied by gong, and *bamara*, by gong and drum. Gbudwe is said to have prohibited the *akpuka* dance in his domains, but I was told that it was at one time popular in the neighbouring kingdom of Wando. The *keli* dance, which also seems to have disappeared, is said by some to have been of Madi, by others of Miangba, origin. The dance *gbere ngbendeli* came from some foreign people in the region of Wau after Gbudwe's death. It is no longer performed. Lagae and Vanden Plas (pt. 1, p. 84) give in their dictionary the names of yet other dances, some of which, they say, have probably been introduced.

A pause may now be made for some general remarks in assessment of what has been said to the present point. It is impossible in most cases to know for certain whether what I was told about the foreign origin of arts and crafts and styles was accurate or not. One can, however, say that this is the way Azande see their culture; that where there are ethnological evidences they tend to support what I was told; and that even if only half the information were correct it tells a remarkable story. In my earlier article (1960) the conclusion was reached that there was good reason for believing that till recently Zande agriculture was much simpler than it is today.

We have now further observed that this is almost certainly true also of their material culture. There have entered into their economy from outside or through conquest and incorporation of foreign elements new building techniques; metal weapons and tools have been introduced (possibly even smelting and smithery in a more distant past, though I do not stress this); and the original Avongara-Ambomu stock have learnt from their subject peoples and neighbours new forms, designs, and skills in pot-making, wood-carving and joinery, plaiting with cane and grass, the construction and playing of musical instruments, and dances. When we add these innovations to those noted in our discussion of domesticated plants we can yet more firmly conclude that since the time the Ambomu began their migrations their culture has undergone considerable changes, becoming greater in content, richer in variety of forms, and more developed and elaborate. These changes must have increased stability, specialization and division of labour, wealth and inequality of wealth, and favoured the growth of a leisured ruling class; in all, bringing about the complex civilization and society of the Azande of today.

I should add that any attempt to investigate the borrowing of culture-traits further would probably today be a hopeless task, and also that the situation is even more complicated than I have presented it, for not only is 'Azande' a blanket-term covering a wide variety of groups of different ethnic origins, the composition of which differs from one part of Zandeland to another, but so also are such terms as 'Mangbetu', 'Abandiya', and 'Abile'. To determine the exact provenance of an object or technique would, in these circumstances, require detailed research, and it is probably too late for this to be undertaken. All that can be achieved here is to indicate the scale of borrowing, the heterogeneity of the elements that have gone to make up Zande culture, and the complexity of the problems involved.

I now pay brief attention to a department of culture very different from any so far treated, that which includes such beliefs and practices as I dealt with twenty-five years ago in my book *Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic among the Azande* (1937). Of the lesser oracles, one, the *mokama*, worked by twisting a peg in a hollow wooden cone, and most used by witchdoctors, came, like some other practices of witchdoctors, from the east, probably from the Baka people, though the name is Zande (*mo*, you, *kama*, twist). Another, the *mapingo*, the placing of two sticks on the ground and a third on top of them and then seeing whether the top one falls or retains its position overnight, has certainly been taken over from the Mangbetu, among whom it has far greater importance, being worked by a specialist with an elaborate apparatus and rites. The name is Mangbetu: *na mapingo*. Of the secondary Zande oracles, the termites oracle, the placing of sections of branches of two different trees in the runs of termites and then observing which of them the insects have nibbled more, is said to have been taken over from the Amiangba, though it may have had a wider distribution, for I was told that it was also the oracle of the Abuguru before the Ambomu taught them the use of *benge* poison. Another oracle, the rubbing-board, is also said to have originated among the Amiangba. All these oracles are figured in my book.

Easily the most important of all the oracles, *benge*, the poison oracle, the administration of poison to fowls to discover the answers to questions by their reactions to it,

presents a special problem. The oracle plays so central a role in the life of the people and is so bound up with the position of their rulers that it is difficult to imagine them without it. But all well-informed and well-travelled Azande have told me that their ancestors did not know it and that it was learnt from some people or peoples to the south of the Uele. What they say is supported by the fact that it is doubtful whether the creeper from which the poison, which has properties akin to strychnine, is extracted grows at all in any part of Zandeland, except perhaps in its extreme southern extensions to the south of the Uele which have been occupied only fairly recently by the Azande. Junker (1890, p. 437) notes that the poison plant is not to be found anywhere in Gbudwe's kingdom or in its neighbourhood, but says that it is found on the Assa stream and that Gbudwe was in the habit of trading ivory for the poison with the Baka chief Ansea who resided in that region. Brock (p. 259) may be referring to the same area when he writes that *benge* 'is rarely found in the Bahr El Ghazal and mostly comes from the Belgian Congo'. But even if it is correct that the creeper is to be found in this region as far north as Junker and Brock say, the Azande could not have used this source till fairly recently because they had not penetrated so far to the east. I should add that to the best of my knowledge the Azande of Gbudwe's kingdom do not today go to Baka country to obtain the poison but in spite of, and ignoring, official regulations, to south of the Uele, and that this was usual before European conquest too.

Mgr. Lagae (p. 84), who was better placed to make a judgement on this matter than I was, says categorically, confirming an earlier statement by Geyer (pp. 294-5), that the creeper does not grow to the north of the Uele-Kibali and that therefore the Azande must have borrowed it from peoples to the south of that river in the course of their migrations and conquests. There is no information on the point, but it seems improbable that, if the creeper does not grow north of the Uele-Kibali, it is to be found in the valley of the Mbomu and to the north of that river where the Ambomu were living when they began their migrations. It is a reasonable surmise therefore that its use must have been learnt from some foreign people.

From which people they learnt it cannot on our present knowledge be determined. More requires to be known of the distribution of the plant and its uses. It would appear that though the Mangbetu use it and it grows in their country it is of secondary importance among them and its use as an oracle was probably borrowed by them from the Azande. Its relative unimportance is indicated or suggested by Schweinfurth (1873, 2, p. 27), Junker (1891, p. 246), and more recently by Lelong (i, pp. 252-3). Czekanowski (p. 162) says that the Mangbetu give the poison to people and not to chicken, save where there has been Zande influence. It may be inferred from a statement by Junker (1891, p. 380) that the Amadi people use the poison oracle. Fr. Giorgetti (1958, p. 106) thinks that the Ambomu may have learnt its use from the Abire or Ambiri peoples. Craffen and Colombo (p. 793) write: 'The name of *benghe* comes from a small plant which does not grow in the country of the Asande, but which they procure from the Bakango riverains of the U'ele, who themselves purchase it from the Ababua whose forests produce it in abundance.' They add (p. 794) that the Ababua administer the poison to men, mostly slaves, while the Azande administer it to chicken. According to Hutereau (p. 98), on the contrary, not only does the creeper flourish in the tropical rain-forest in which the Ababua live, but

they consult the oracle in much the same way as Azande do, and they call it and the poison by the same name, *benge* (Hutereau's *benget*).¹ If Hutereau's statements are correct it would seem probable, on the limited evidence available, that both the poison and the procedure of consulting the oracle with chickens—as well as less commonly with men—were borrowed by the Azande from the Ababua or some related Bantu people further to the west and nearer to the Mbomu homeland. Possibly knowledge of the oracle passed from the Ambomu to the Nzakara, who adjoin the Azande to the west and have adopted their political institutions and speak a closely related language, for Von Wiese (p. 203) tells us that this people use ' *bengi* ', though according to him on humans. The Azande have also passed it on to other peoples who have come under their political and cultural influence, such as the Abuguru. Further discussion of this matter might lead us into very deep waters; and I do not pursue it. I conclude that we can say definitely that the poison oracle must have been borrowed by the Ambomu from foreigners, that possibly these foreigners were the Ababua or related Bantu, and also that the oracle has certainly been in use among the Ambomu and the peoples they have absorbed (the Zande amalgam) for a very long time, though for how long we cannot say. All we can say on historical evidence is that when Schweinfurth visited the Azande in 1870 both the poison oracle and the rubbing-board oracle were well established (1873, 2, pp. 32–33). Schweinfurth (1873, 2, p. 33) mentions also an oracular usage I have neither seen nor heard of, the ducking of the head of a cock under water until it is senseless and then waiting to see whether it rallies or succumbs. If this was ever a Zande practice, which I doubt—Schweinfurth travelled through a very mixed population and was much indebted for information to Nubians and Arabs, most unreliable informants on Negro customs—it must long ago have fallen into desuetude. It is true that Geyer (pp. 309–10) also records this oracular technique, but it is possible that he took his information from Schweinfurth, of whose account he appears to have made considerable use.

Azande have an enormous number of ' medicines ', substances employed in magical rites, and they regard very many of them as being of foreign origin, so much so that they tend to class anyone who uses magic outside a few traditional types as being *ipso facto* a person of foreign origin or at least of foreign habits. So vast is this subject, therefore, that I may be excused for not attempting to treat it in detail, especially as it has often been observed that magic, particularly bad magic or sorcery, is frequently attributed, and perhaps correctly, to foreigners. All I shall do is to give a few examples. Gbudwe was strongly opposed to the introduction of new medicines, but in spite of his opposition some found their way into his realm. The most important of all Zande medicines, *bagbuduma*, used in a long series of rites to avenge deaths caused by witchcraft, had almost certainly been established there before his reign, and it was one of the traditional medicines of which he approved. Nevertheless, it is said not to have originated among the Ambomu but to have been borrowed by them from some people to the west. This may be Schweinfurth's *bongbottumu* (1873, 2, p. 31) which some interpreters gave him, quite wrongly, as a word for divinity and also for a messenger or envoy. He realized, however, that what they were doing was giving him a kind of

¹ A similar word, *mbenge*, refers to a process of divination among the Momvu people, but the operational procedure in no way resembles that of the

Azande and Ababua (Van Geluwe, p. 82, quoting Van de Broele).

periphrasis of the Arabic word for prophet, *rasul*. The confusion may have been caused by the fact that the idea of sending forth the medicine to search for a witch is often expressed in Zande statements about it, as is the idea of sending forth expressed in the Arabic word.

Also present in Gbudwe's day was the most feared of all evil medicines, *menzere*, learnt, I was told, from the Amadi people. From the south, though more recently, came *moti*, a medicine supposed to cause venereal chancres. The magic whistle *fili* came from the Mangbetu. The dropping of the hair of the ant-bear (*garawa*) into a man's beer to kill him is a magical act said to have originated among the Amiangba. One of the protective medicines, *ngua kpoto*, is attributed to the Basiri. Another powerful protective medicine, *amatangi*, was brought to the Azande from the Bongo people, but it is also found as a sort of fetish among the Nilotc Dinka and Nuer peoples and it probably originated among the Sudanese so-called Jur peoples. Fr. De Graer (t. 1, p. 223) mentions a number of medicines now used by Azande to treat sickness which have a foreign origin, e.g. a cure for *ima dekurugba*, oedema, obesity, &c., came from the Basiri or the Amadi; a cure for *moti*, the venereal chancres already referred to, came from the Mangbetu; and from the Basiri or Amadi came a cure for *ima batiyo*, convulsions in infants. Fr. Giorgetti (1958, p. 42) mentions a magical substance called *kpoto ngondi*, a dried portion of a crocodile's sexual organs, used to blind people, and says that it came to the Azande from the Bviri section of the Belanda people. Many other medicines have come, or are believed to have come, from foreign peoples.

If the Ambomu had at one time no poison oracle, and possibly no other oracles, and if they had no magic of vengeance, we may wonder whether at that time they may also have lacked the witchcraft notions so closely connected with the operation of the oracle and the use of the medicine, notions which today dominate their outlook and may be said to constitute their natural and moral philosophy. I have not heard Azande suggest this, and I suppose that it would be impossible for them to entertain the idea. Nevertheless, there is some force in Czakanowski's observation (p. 73) that we may think that they may have borrowed their present witchcraft notions on account of the prevalence of similar complexes of beliefs and practices in the south-western part of the Uele Basin and also because of the West African character of the procedure of dissection of the intestines of persons accused of witchcraft. This conjecture is supported by Baumann's map (1928, p. 83) which shows the essentially West African spread of this type of witchcraft complex, the Azande, Logo, Mangbetu, and Abarambo being on the north-eastern limit of its distribution. It is possible that the Ambomu took over both the poison oracle and their present witchcraft beliefs and practices from the Ababua, though this can be no more than conjecture. It is probably true that they have always had witchcraft beliefs of some kind—it would be surprising if they had not. I have noted earlier (1960, p. 311) that it is likely that Browne's statement, in about 1794, that the Gnum Gnum, who hold that all deaths are due to witchcraft, refers to the Azande (p. 310). Moreover, the witch-doctors, if we are to accept tradition, go back to the time of early Vongara rulers, and witchdoctors make little sense without witchcraft. The point under consideration, however, is whether they had their present witchcraft beliefs and practices—an organic phenomenon, autopsies, &c.

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Résumé

CONTRIBUTION SUPPLÉMENTAIRE A L'ÉTUDE DE LA CULTURE ZANDE

DANS un des récents numéros de la revue *Africa* (octobre 1960), parut un article démontrant qu'un certain nombre de plantes cultivées par les Azande étaient presque toujours empruntées à des peuples voisins. D'après les déclarations des Azande, souvent appuyées par des faits, l'auteur affirme que les arts et les techniques des Azande constituent un complexe d'éléments empruntés. Des exemples sont pris dans la construction des huttes, la fonderie et les travaux de métaux, la poterie, la sculpture sur bois, le tressage du jonc et de l'herbe, les instruments de musique, les danses, les techniques de divination et de sorcellerie. Cet amalgame est le résultat de migrations, de conquêtes, de contacts et d'assimilation de plusieurs peuples ayant des fonds culturels différents.

RELIGIOUS IDEAS AND SOCIAL ACTION IN GURAGE BOND-FRIENDSHIP

WILLIAM A. SHACK

INSTITUTIONS of bond-friendship as a form of voluntary association exist in many societies and, when viewed cross-tribally, they show considerable variation both in form and function.¹ Even so, variations in the order of bond-friendship associations seem related to a common theme: namely, that there is an exchange of goods and/or services between parties to a ritual covenant that is reinforced by supernatural sanctions;² and that protestations of mutual goodwill, together with calling for imprecations of evil to befall the individual who breaks the agreement, are elements which bind the covenant.

Voluntary associations of the bond-friendship type nearly always incorporate some elements of social control. In societies where ritual covenants function to cement already existing bonds of comradeship by giving them a concrete organized form which is backed by sanctions, the degree of social control exercised is especially significant. Here, the obligation to honour the bond is a moral order and betrayal usually takes the form of explicit overt acts or verbal statements. On the other hand, the determination of moral action may be of a different order, not always verifiable on empirical grounds. Within the range of relationships established by the covenant, moral action may be guided by implicit concepts and propositions which constitute a body of knowledge based on ideas. For ideas, as Talcott Parsons suggests, are '... capable of intelligible interpretation in relation to human interests, values and experience. So far as, *qua* ideas, they constitute systems, the relations between these concepts and propositions are capable of being tested in terms of a certain norm, that of logic.'³

This paper deals with some of the notions concerning moral behaviour, obligations, and action held by the Gurage people of south-west Ethiopia. The crystallization of these ideas, institutionalized in ritual covenants of bond-friendship, is what the Gurage call *gurda*.

BACKGROUND OF GURDA

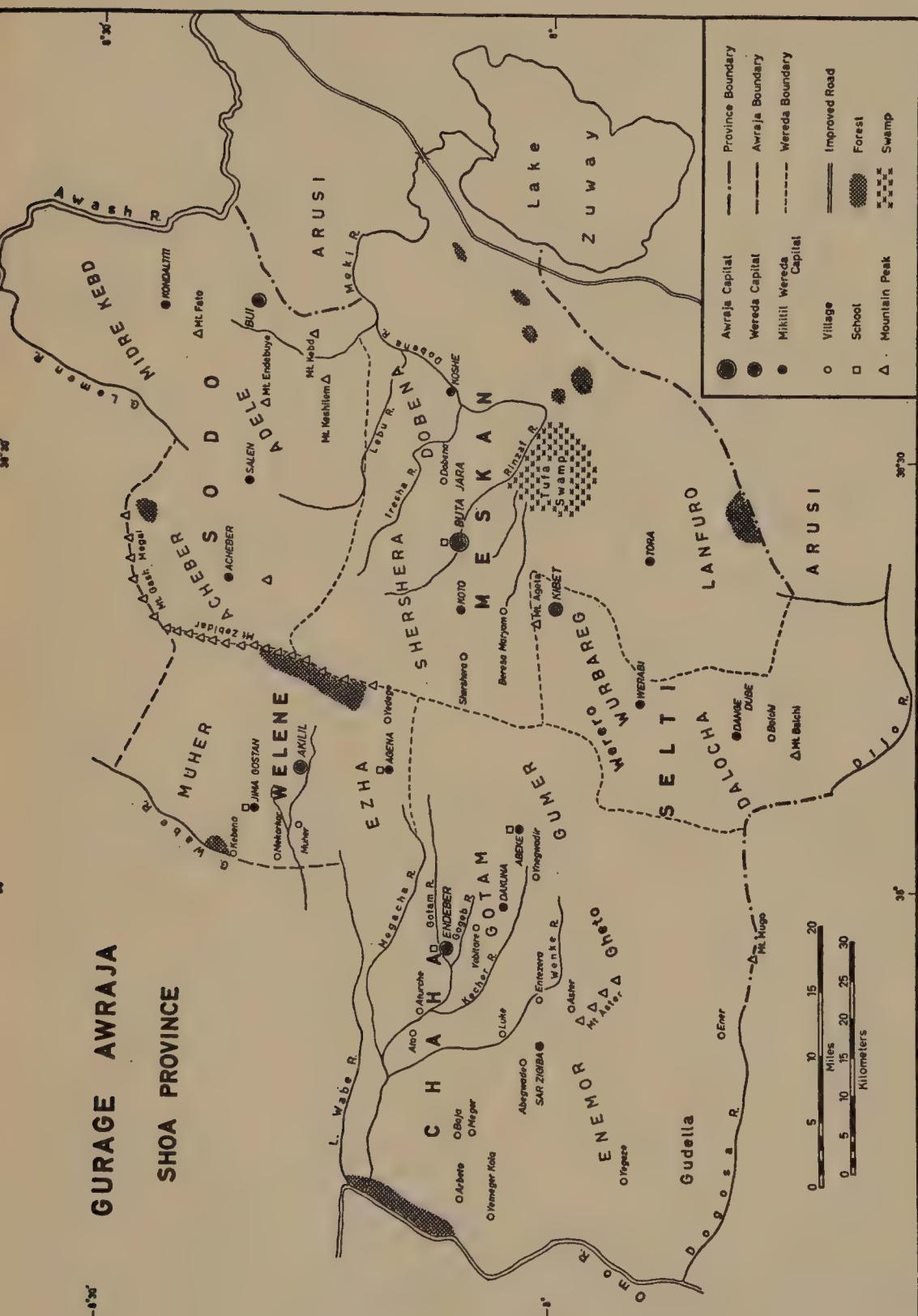
The Gurage are a sedentary agricultural people clustered in numerous small, densely settled, kin-group villages, on the southern fringe of the central Ethiopian tableland. They form a narrow linguistic enclave of Semitic-speaking peoples,

¹ An extensive cross-tribal survey of 'brotherhood' institutions is presented by Hamilton-Grier-son, *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, ii, pp. 857-71. See also Evans-Pritchard, 1933; Driberg, 1935; Hocart, 1935; Firth, 1936.

² The distinction between *covenant* and *contract* made by Firth, *op. cit.*, p. 259, is followed in this paper. A covenant is distinguished from a contract by its voluntary nature; it is an agreement resting on moral obligation. Since covenant relations are

enforced by supernatural sanctions, I define them as being not primarily 'legal'. I consider contract relations as those recognized by courts and enforced by political agents; I define them as 'legal' relations. The functional differences between these concepts are discussed fully by Hoebel, 1954, p. 15.

³ The point of departure for the theoretical aspects of this paper is primarily Talcott Parsons's thesis in 'The Role of Ideas in Social Action', *American Sociological Review*, iii, 5 (1938), pp. 652-64.



Note on the map. The terminology is that of the Government system of tribal administration: Awraja = Sub-province; Wereda = Sub-provincial district; Miktil Wereda = Sub-district. These administrative boundaries, which have been arbitrarily defined, seldom correspond to traditional political boundaries.

estimated to number about 350,000, in an area predominantly settled by Cushitic tribes of the Sidāmo-speaking group.¹ Among these are the Sidāmo themselves, and the Darasa and Kambatta tribes. Natural boundaries of Gurageland are the Awash river on the north, the Ghibie (Omo) river on the south-west, and Lake Zway on the east. The material presented here, gathered between 1957 and 1959, mainly concerns the Chaha, the largest of Gurage tribes who, by and large, still practise traditional religious customs. Conversions of Chaha and other Gurage to Coptic Christianity and Islam increased in the late nineteenth century after the conquest of Gurage by the Christian Amhara Shoan kingdom. But even today Christian and Muslim Chaha Gurage are known to make *gurda* ritual covenants. The Chaha, Ezha, Geyto, Muher, Ennemor, Aklil, and Walani-Woriro tribes comprise the 'Western' tribal federation, commonly called, by the Gurage and others, *Yä säbat bet Gurage*, 'The Seven Houses (Tribes) of Gurage'.

Migrating from the northern highlands some 500 years ago, the people now called Gurage settled approximately in their present location, intermarried with the Sidāmo, wrested away some of their land, but never succeeded in conquering them. Hence, Gurage culture has its origin partly in the Cushitic Sidāmo of the south and partly in the Semitic-speaking highland Ethiopians. The Semitic features of Gurage culture are strikingly preserved in their language, though it has been influenced by Sidāmo, a substratum language of south Ethiopia;² it is seen also in their kinship system which employs descriptive cousin terminology, characteristic of the Semitic Ethiopians, but Gurage reckon descent patrilineally as do most of the Sidāmo group. Contrariwise, there were adaptations to new modes of food production and related economic practices. They adopted the hoe cultivation of *Ensete edulis*, the staple crop grown widely throughout south-west Ethiopia, in favour of the plough cultivation of grain produce formerly practised and which is common to the highlands. They also developed patrilineal descent groups, clan organization, and institutions of clan chieftainship along similar lines to the Sidāmo. Elements of Sidāmo Cushitic religion were incorporated into Gurage belief and ritual systems, among them the 'Sky-god' and nature spirits, and certain cults of possession. These developments in Gurage culture have been discussed elsewhere; I have also suggested there a classification of south-west Ethiopia as the 'Ensete Culture Complex Area', based on the distribution of culture traits connected with this planting culture.³ But since the Gurage are relatively unknown among Ethiopian tribes it is worth while to summarize the main features of their economy and local organization before turning to a description of *gurda*.

The Gurage principally cultivate ensete (Gurage, *äṣät*), which provides the staple food of their diet, but they are also mixed cultivators and control the bulk of their own food-supply by cultivating plants and breeding livestock. In the main, the

¹ I use Sidāmo here in a broad linguistic and ethnographic sense, not in an historical and political sense as some writers do when referring to the ancient states of Dawaro, Bali, and Hadya, in south-west Ethiopia. For the latter, *Sidāmā* seems appropriate. Thus the Sidāmo language group includes the Sidāmo, Kambatta, Alaba, and Darasa.

² See Leslau, 1945.

³ See my paper forthcoming in *J. Roy. Anthropol.*

Inst., 'Some Aspects of Ecology and Social Structure in the Ensete Complex: South-west Ethiopia'. Further descriptions of ensete cultivation may be found in Smeds, 1955 and Simmonds, 1958. A more complete description of Gurage culture and social organization is given by the writer in 'The Development of Gurage Social Structure'. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of London, 1961.

cultivation of *äṣät* is looked upon with disdain by Ethiopian tribes who grow *taf* (*Eragrostis abyssinica*) or keep cattle. But to the Gurage *äṣät* is life, and they have a vital interest in it. They depend on *äṣät* for many economic and social necessities of life, food being only one of the many needs it meets. The by-products of *äṣät* serve utilitarian and practical needs, such as in house construction and for fuel and utensils; the long coarse fibres remaining after *äṣät* is decorticated provide a minor cash commodity. In ceremonials associated with birth, marriage, and death, *äṣät* prepared specially by ritual agents is always served; they also control the formulae for concocting medicines in which *äṣät* is the basic ingredient. Moreover, it is the favourite form of tribute of Gurage to their clan and religious chiefs; irrespective of one's social standing, the dispensing of *äṣät* is always the first sign of hospitality. *Äṣät* is used in settling disputes and making compensation; it forms a basis for social ranking, and it underlies much of the status rivalry that commonly exists between homesteads.

Gurage society is typical of the small-scale, so-called 'segmentary type', composed of local groups which are recruited by unilineal descent. It is a patrilineally organized society. The principles of the lineage system underlie the settlement of a Gurage village, which is the smallest territorial and political unit. It occupies a defined area of land, the ownership rights over it belong to members of the community, and its boundaries are recognized by groups living outside it. The core of the village is what I call the 'minimal lineage', composed of an indeterminate number of homesteads related by actual and sometimes fictional agnatic kin ties. Occupying the homestead is the patrilocal extended family, the most important social unit among the Gurage. The father, his sons, and their families form the primary economic group which, working as a team, especially in the cultivation of *äṣät*, provide for the welfare of the homestead.

Ideally, as well as in practice, the father is head of the homestead and generally holds the title to the land which, upon his death, is inherited by his sons, the eldest receiving the largest share. This rule of inheritance also holds for status, titles, and movable property. But competition between male siblings over the inheritance of scarce fertile land is not uncommon. Since the eldest son can lose his share of inheritance if he fails to live up to the image of an 'ideal' son which, in fact, means a display of filial piety, younger brothers very often attempt to destroy this image in hopes of receiving a larger share of land. Sibling rivalry tends to increase considerably the need a man has for a dependable ally in times of crises; a need that is fulfilled by establishing a binding non-kin relationship through *gurda* bond-friendship.

Of Gurage political and religious systems only these features are to be mentioned. Clans are the largest relatively independent political units, with political authority vested in positions of clan chieftainship. Before Menelik's conquest of the Gurage in 1889, there was no one leader, or one tribe, among them with political power over all. On the other hand, their religious system is characterized by its centralized form. Ritual power, authority, and wealth are vested in the lineages directly associated with three cults that serve the seven tribes: the Male Cult (*Čašt*), the Female Cult (*Dämʷamʷit*), and the Cult of the Thunder God (*Božä*). Religious congregations of these cults, comprising the total aggregate of local descent groups, override the genealogical and territorial principles of grouping. Chief representatives of the Male and Female cult deities sanction the authority of clan chiefs, give mythical and

ritual validation to the principles of descent, and counterbalance the exercise of secular power. The institution of *gurda* is one aspect of social control reinforcing the solidarity and integration of individuals and groups outside the context of ritual cult ceremonial groupings.

GURDA: BOND-FRIENDSHIP

Many Gurage men undertake the obligation of *gurda*. This institutional form of friendship, which constitutes a life-long bond of reciprocal obligations, is reinforced by supernatural sanctions. I heard of no instances of women establishing *gurda* associations; their ties with age-mates in an association known as *Mwəyät* serve a similar purpose.¹ Moreover, the interdictions against the participation of women in rituals set aside for men are also important here; the polarity of the sexes is a fundamental structural principle of the Gurage religious system, with the religious life of men and women each organized round a separate deity, its chief representative, and their ritual agents. Gurage men call their deity *Waq*.²

Most men make a *gurda* in late adolescence. One reason for this is that ritual obligations for young boys begin only after puberty is reached; the ceremony of transition into adulthood also marks an initiation into full participation in tribal religious life. Another reason is that when a boy begins to approach manhood his social responsibilities gradually increase and then he often needs a confidant outside his circle of kin to render assistance. Thus, in principle, any man can have several *gurda*-brothers, but as the number of moral and ritual obligations increase in proportion to the sum total of associations, the burden of cumulative responsibilities seems to diminish the desire to have great numbers of *gurda*-brothers. In fact, I have known only a few Gurage who had more than two 'brothers', though most men insist that this is not the rule. The obligations involved in *gurda* are moral obligations of mutual assistance. They are not confined solely to social and economic relations, which in reality have little significance even though goods and services are sometimes exchanged; but they stand as a protection against physical harm. This is a factor of considerable importance when viewed against an historical background of political struggles in the forms of internecine warfare, clan feuding, and interfamilial conflicts. Traditionally, sibling rivalry over the inheritance of scarce land-holdings is commonplace, and tensions between male kin can often reach serious proportions. Nowadays, as in the past, ritual protection is sought as a guardian against real or potential harm in the realm of inter-personal relations, both within and outside the kinship group. For this, most men make a *gurda*.

In former times, the fear of sudden death or enslavement as a result of enemy raids promoted as much anxiety as that of ritual illness and its discomforts. Defences against the possibilities of either occurring have been traditionally weak, and though warfare is now extinct under *pax Aethiopica*, Gurage still harbour apprehensions, from past experience, that physical harm is always a possibility. Suspicion is rampant among the Gurage. The fear of ritual illness is rife. And it can be said without fear of exaggeration that anticipation of ritual illness is a deep-seated anxiety. Attitudes

¹ For a brief description of the *Mwəyät* organization and the Female Cult, see Leslau, 1950, p. 55.

² *Ibid.*, p. 53.

concerning ritual illness and the consequences of an affliction are revealed in the myth which relates the origin of *gurda*.

Briefly, the myth relates that the first *gurda*-bond was made by two close friends, Anchina and Wərtəm, the oath-taking being witnessed by *Waq*, the deity of Gurage men. The mutual undertaking of the oath entailed protestations of goodwill, obligations of personal protection, and asseverations that the covenant would be a life-long bond; it also called for *Waq* to spell a curse upon the one who broke his vow. One day, it is said, Anchina thought of slaying his *gurda*-brother and stealing his belongings; but soon he gave up the idea and thought no more of it. Wərtəm suspected nothing. Yet *Waq* knew that the 'evil' idea existed in Anchina's mind and he spelled a curse of sickness on him for entertaining 'thoughts' of betrayal. While Anchina was defecating, his intestines and bowels spilled on the ground beneath him. He was helpless to replace them; not only did he suffer great pain but also he was shamed; for there his intestines lay to be seen by everyone who passed him. And to everyone this sign was a manifestation of *Waq*'s power. Anchina was looked upon with disgust, by betraying a friend who was under the sacred protection of *Waq*, he thereby had offended the deity himself; and no one would dare interfere lest they also be struck by the curse. The 'illness' could be cured only if Anchina confessed his evil idea to Wərtəm. He did. He was forgiven. Afterwards, *Waq* removed the curse.

This theme of betraying a *gurda*-brother through real or imagined hostile acts, and the ritual sanctions imposed in consequence, is present in the oath taken when a *gurda* is made. Both parties repeat: 'If I betray you let the curse of Anchina happen to me—on the day of *Mäsqär* let me go from door to door begging.'¹

Unlike the undertaking of ritual covenants in some other societies, a *gurda*-bond is made without the exchange of food, gifts, blood, or any object said to have magical or ritual properties. There is no ceremonial held when the oath is taken in which others witness the covenant, it is not overtly sacred in this sense. Moreover, *gurda*-brothers do not join periodically on formal occasions to reassert and reaffirm their alliance. Belief in the efficacy of *Waq*'s supernatural power to inflict punishment ritually on an offender is, ideally, sufficient restraint to reinforce and give lasting strength to the bond-friendship.

It is clear from the myth that a *gurda*-bond is not necessarily broken by *action* itself, it may even be broken if the *idea* of an action is entertained. Either is sufficient reason for the suspicious person to seek ritual support for himself; this is done through the ritual agent of *Waq*, who is known as *Wäg*. His position, like that of all other ritual agents among the Gurage, is passed on in the senior line of his lineage and inherited by his eldest son; if there is no heir it passes to the brother next in line and his son. No other ritual agent within *Yä säbät bet Gurage* can act as arbiter in blood-feuds or demand supplication of pardon in *gurda* disputes. When the person harbouring

¹ *Mäsqär* among the Gurage corresponds to the Amharic *Mäsqär*, Festival of the Cross; a feast occurring in September, the first month of the Ethiopian calendar. There is considerable religious syncretism of Coptic Christianity in traditional Gurage religion as evidenced by the reference to *Mäsqär* in the *gurda* oath. The implication in the

oath is that a ritual illness causes impoverishment, since the afflicted is banished from his family and lineage, and is forbidden to cultivate *äät* for fear of contaminating those whom he may contact, and the soil. Survival is through begging at market gatherings and on important festival days.

suspicion seeks help he is advised by *Wäg* to charge his *gurda*-brother seven times with the allegation, with the expectation of receiving on each occasion an admission of intended wrongdoings. It is customary to deny the allegation when first charged, the accused displaying a great show of surprise as well as indignation that his 'brother' is suspicious of him; this denial of guilt is reported to *Wäg*, who then decides when the next visit to the home of the accused is to be made, charging him with the issue once more. But if confession is not made on the seventh visit, *Wäg* intervenes and invokes *Waq* to afflict the offender, or the suspected offender, with a ritual illness. The invocation recited is literally, 'Let *Waq* hear it—leave it to *Waq* and wait'. This petition is intended to place restraint on the suspicious party from resorting to self-help in exacting compensation, for such action often proliferates and sooner or later distant related kinsmen on both sides are affected and this can result in lineage and clan feuds. This petition also permits the powers of *Waq* to intervene.

Ritual sanctions imposed by *Waq* invariably result in some form of illness. Common ailments are stomach disorders, diarrhoea, partial paralysis and festering sores, but even hallucinations and 'bad' dreams are frequent complaints of victims. Most afflictions begin as mild disorders which become increasingly worse. They can be remedied effectively only with ritual cures. These are available upon payment of special fees to *Wäg*, who controls and prescribes pharmacopoeia used in ritual treatment; in this context *äsat* is of unlimited importance.

There is no cure, Gurage say, for a person who is spelled with the curse of the *Zitänä*; a term which translates as *Zit*—'possessed', *änä*—'he who (is)', literally: 'he who is possessed'.¹ *Zitänä* is a form of 'evil' spirit possession, which results in an illness that usually ends in death; but on occasion one can also be possessed with a 'good' spirit. This is the strongest sanction imposed by *Waq*, meted when serious offences against a *gurda*-brother have been committed, such as murder or attempted murder, or setting fire to his house and *äsat* field. For, through *gurda*, a Gurage ultimately depends upon *Waq* to protect his life and his property, and *Waq* upholds this dependent relationship. Since there is no cure for the *Zitänä*, he is rejected from his lineage and village by his kinsmen who fear ritual contamination of themselves and their land. All ties with the lineage are severed: a *Zitänä* cannot be buried in the lineage plot, which is set aside in the *äsat* field, along with his kinsmen, nor can *äsat* leaves be used in the burial rite, an act symbolizing that the association a man has with nature continues even in the afterlife. Nor can his property be inherited, for this is given as compensation to the chief representative of *Waq* by the kin group who sacrifice periodically to protect them and future generations from the curse.

Few men admit at the onset of illness to having broken faith in a *gurda*-bond. This is partly because they hope that the action or idea will not be uncovered, and partly because they fear the consequences, from which even an admission of guilt does not absolve one entirely. Thus, even when the symptoms of 'illness' begin to appear, men often claim ignorance of the causes and they avoid making an appeal directly to the ritual specialist. Instead, they first seek out old men of the village, or

¹ A brief discussion of *Zitänä* is given by Leslau, 1950, p. 58. Note also that Leslau associates this ritual curse with the deity *Däm^wam^wit*; but I under-

stand *Zitänä* to be a curse not restricted to the power of a specific deity.

clan, who are knowledgeable of the powers of *Waq*, and from long experience these elders can distinguish sicknesses due to ritual causes from those of an ordinary nature. Elders have no authority to mediate in *gurda* disputes, but through persuasion they advise an afflicted person to seek the assistance of *Wäg*, as there is no other recourse for ritual cures. Most men do.

GURDA AND KINSHIP RELATIONS

Although *gurda* relations are, strictly speaking, personal relations between two individuals, nevertheless, a breach of the bond is condemned by folk who hear of it, as well as by the kin-groups to which the 'brothers' belong. But no action is taken by the families of *gurda* brothers to correct a moral wrong; nor is this done by any other group in society. For this would lead to a further proliferation of dissension, thereby defeating a primary function of the covenant, that is, to establish binding non-kin obligations that stand outside the realm of normal pressures exerted by blood and affinal ties.

Gurda relations stand outside the realm of agnatic and affinal kin relations. A man does not stand in position of *gurda*-brother to clans whose individual members have made bonds with his kin. In some instances a man is unaware of the existence of bonds of his immediate kin, for often these associations are kept in the utmost secrecy and guarded as personal amulets and secret ritual formulae. On the other hand, clans are extremely large, sometimes occupying large expanses of territory, and clan members are spread widely across the whole of the clan district. Hence *gurda* is commonly made between distant related clansmen where the ritual ties of the covenant span the social and spatial distances, such as between maximal lineage kin; they are sometimes made within a village but never with members of the agnatic group.

For the most part a man can rely upon his own lineage and the village for maximum social and economic security, but these benefits diminish in proportion to the distance he moves away from his settlement. In former times a man especially needed security while away from his village on trading expeditions, pursuits that Gurage have traditionally undertaken. Nowadays, many migrant labourers make a *gurda* with the expectation that urban problems can be overcome with assistance that is ritually insured. In sum, ritual bond relations among the Gurage cannot be considered 'kinship' bonds, nor do they extend the range of classificatory kin membership.¹

The change in political climate in Gurageland has affected the spatial patterning of *gurda* relations.² I was told that before the cessation of tribal warfare, ritual bonds were more often made between men of the same village. Then the fear of sudden death through warfare was more remote than the fear of enslavement by closely located hostile elements. Lack of internal security was partly because of the absence of centralized political authority over the tribal grouping, and partly because of political and military rivalry between powerful clan chiefs who attempted to extend their political domination over new lands and people. The expansionist policy of the

¹ Cf. Evans-Pritchard, loc. cit., where the Azande extend blood-brotherhood relations throughout the clan.

the Gurage in the nineteenth century, see Isenberg and Krapf, 1843, pp. 79-80; Harris, 1844, vol. iii, p. 313; Cecchi, 1886, vol. ii, pp. 76-109.

² For good descriptions of the political state of

Shoan kingdom, then under Sahle Selassie (1813-47), was also a factor contributing towards a further increase in the turbulent nature of the population in the mid-nineteenth century. Intra-village raiding, even between brothers, was commonplace, as also the taking of slaves, and trading in the latter reached such proportions as to suggest that during this period the population was reduced considerably. Even now, rivalry over scarce land-holdings, a feature of Gurage life which is mirrored in myths relating the origins of some clans, is a factor underlying much of the stress and strain in male sibling relationships and intergenerational conflicts. These factors, historical and social, all have weight, apparently contributing to the undercurrent of emotion that Gurage manifest through a preoccupation with real or potential threats to the social order.

Gurda, it seems, attempts to provide a means of adjustment to a range of conflicting social situations, both old and new. It minimizes aggressive tendencies arising from contradictions between ideal and actual expectations in social relations. Specifically, it opens up a way to approximate more closely the ideal relations between kin, with which the actual relations are in contradiction more often than not; it thereby reinforces the overall system of social control. The fact that Gurage make no distinction between a conceived act of hostility and the act itself, either of which can cause a breach in *gurda* relations, is significant: it points toward an index of normative behaviour that has more than a casual relationship with the system of ideas associated with bond-friendship.

CONCLUSIONS

Gurda is not a covenant established to achieve materialistic ends. Economic transactions that arise as a result of the bond are minimal, seldom exceeding the exchange of beer and food, or the reciprocal assistance in labour activities. Since social relations of this sort are in fact an extension of the normal pattern of kinship relations, ritual sanctions are not needed to enforce them. On the other hand, there is no evidence to suggest that *gurda* places two men in ritualized polar opposition, a view one writer has taken to be a primary purpose of covenants.¹ In terms of the Gurage, this view would assume that the undertaking of a *gurda*-bond presupposes that a breach of the covenant will take place inevitably; that each in turn must disavow the oath in order to maintain a theoretical equilibrium. This view assumes also that men undertake moral obligations only in order to break them for a need that yet remains to be defined. Furthermore, such an assumption tends to underestimate the role played by moral values and religious ideas in the social system as forming reliable guides to action. For even in small-scale, self-sufficient, and closely contained societies like the Gurage, there seem to be very real advantages of a social, economic, and even psychological kind, which accrue from an institutionalized friendship association, within which moral sanction is attached to the performance of duties and services.² Similarly, *gurda* makes clear a definition of the kinds of behaviour and expectations that are expressed in non-kin relationships; these in turn are linked up with religious

¹ A. M. Hocart, 'Covenants', 1935, pp. 149-51.

² Two other Gurage associations having similar functions are *Iqub*, a self-help organization, and

Mabbär or *Makyer*, 'private communion'. On the role of moral sanction in friendship association see Firth, 1936, op. cit., p. 269.

ideas and their concepts of moral action, unfavourable opinion, and reward and punishment.

Gurda has a positive effect in terms of social control. It provides a sociological outlet for the *intent* which underlies anxieties brought about by latent hostilities. It provides an aetiology of illness. The diffused linkings of individual associations, though lacking in qualitative aspects, have the overall effect of linking society as a whole.¹ In other ways, such bonds are a means of establishing kin-like relations where none exist, and of strengthening social and economic positions through institutionalized friendship which entails reciprocal obligations; these associations are descriptions of human behaviour. *Gurda* is a moral and ideal construct; a model of the good life. It is a characterization of Gurage society.

In sum, I have attempted in this paper to view Gurage ritual bond-friendship within the framework of the relationship between religious ideas and social action. By showing greater concern mainly with certain aspects of the Gurage religious thought-system, the other, equally important, and closely related determinant of behaviour—the ritual dimension—has been given less emphasis. Clearly these dimensions of the religious system—the belief and the ritual—do overlap. Much of Gurage ritual behaviour and notions of the supernatural seem to be linked up with witchcraft, sorcery, and spirit possession. I lack sufficient data on them to bring fully into account their role in manipulating religious phenomena and in regulating interpersonal relations formed through *gurda*. Thus, this oblique approach to the description of Gurage ritual covenants, in order to make them intelligible, is one of utility, partly determined by the material at hand. But it is also partly guided by the question of the extent to which an analysis of aspects of the Gurage thought-system can provide a basis for understanding certain relations between individuals and groups, and between them and the social order, past and present.

No great claim is made here that this central question has been wholly answered; nor that the guideposts of inquiry and the viewpoints expressed are the only ones, or even the most fruitful ones. At best, this essay is exploratory; it combines two parallel theories concerning religious ideas, moral values and modes of action, the themes of which have been leaned upon heavily. For one, Firth has suggested that a system of belief is definable, and the associated values can be classified especially in determining their relations to the social structures within which they occur. 'Religious ideas furnish a principle of authority, or certitude, upon which indecision and the need for resolution can seize.'² Similarly, Parsons writes that a system of religious ideas is a 'matter of introducing a determinant structure at certain points in the system of action where, in relation to the situations men have to face, other elements, such as their emotional needs, do not suffice to determine specific orientations of behaviour'.³

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¹ I am grateful to Professor Raymond Firth for clarifying the statements made here, and in general offering critical comments on the theoretical position

taken in this paper.

² Firth, 1948, p. 15.

³ Talcott Parsons, 1944, p. 188.

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Résumé

LES IDÉES RELIGIEUSES ET L'ACTION SOCIALE DANS LES LIENS D'AMITIÉ CHEZ LES GURAGE

CHEZ les Gurage, dans le sud-ouest de l'Éthiopie, les notions religieuses concernant les idées morales et le comportement sont à la base d'une forme d'action sociale consistant en un pacte rituel de lien d'amitié appelé *gurda*. Ce lien d'assistance mutuelle et de protection, contracté par de jeunes garçons au-delà de la puberté, est renforcé par des sanctions sur-naturelles. Une infraction au pacte est punie rituellement. Les liens d'amitié peuvent être rompus soit par un acte direct d'agression contre le frère-*gurda*, soit si l'acte est supposé s'être passé. L'action rituelle est alors nécessaire pour rétablir les relations dissociées par le lien rompu. Des mesures répressives prennent la forme de maladies rituelles, dont la guérison est contrôlée par un spécialiste rituel. Quand des crimes sérieux, tels que le meurtre ou la destruction de la propriété, sont commis contre un frère-*gurda*, l'offenseur peut être tourmenté par la possession d'un esprit, ce qui est habituellement fatal.

Dans le passé, les guerres d'extermination et la rivalité entre des frères, spécialement à cause de la rareté du terrain, semblent être à la base des préoccupations des Gurage avec des menaces vraies ou potentielles contre l'ordre social. Les efforts *gurda* essayent de fournir un moyen d'ajustement aux situations sociales en conflit, pour minimiser l'agression et renforcer tout le système du contrôle social. Les associations de liens d'amitié définissent le niveau normal de comportement et les relations possibles entre non-apparentés. Pareillement, les idées religieuses Gurage, leurs concepts d'action morale, leur opinion défavorable, la récompense et la punition, sont des facteurs qui à la fois régularisent et déterminent le cours de l'action morale dans les relations *gurda*.

Le *gurda* fournit une issue sociologique à l'intention qui est à la base des anxiétés créées par les hostilités qui existent à l'état latent. Les pactes rituels ont pour effet global d'unir la société dans son ensemble et de résorber les distances sociales et spatiales définies par les systèmes de parenté et de lignage. Ils sont aussi un moyen d'établir un lien de parenté là où il n'y en a pas, et de renforcer les positions sociales et économiques par cette amitié instituée qui entraîne des obligations réciproques. Le *gurda* est une construction morale et idéale: un modèle de bonne vie.

THE TEMNE FAMILY IN A MODERN TOWN (LUNSAR) IN SIERRA LEONE¹

DAVID P. GAMBLE

LUNSAR is a town of some 10,000 people which has grown up since 1930 beside an open-cast iron-ore mine worked by the Sierra Leone Development Corporation (Delco) in the Marampa Chiefdom of the Northern Province, about sixty miles from Freetown. In the early days large numbers of unskilled workers were employed, but now the mine is highly mechanized. The ore is excavated and removed by mechanical scrapers and transported on a conveyor belt to a mill where most of the waste material is separated. It is then taken by conveyor belt to stockpiles and from there is mechanically loaded on to wagons.

Thirty per cent. of the company's local employees live in company houses on the Concession, the majority of these being of tribes from other parts of Sierra Leone (Limba, Mende, Loko, Sherbro, Creole, &c.), 19 per cent. in nearby villages, and 51 per cent. in Lunsar, which is just outside the company's Concession and yet near to the hills that are being mined. Temne form about 70 per cent. of the population of the town.

Besides catering for the needs of mine employees, the town has also become a market and commercial centre for the surrounding countryside, and the administrative centre of the chiefdom, the Paramount Chief having moved from the traditional village of Marampa so as to be nearer the mine. Nearly half of the men in Lunsar (46 per cent.) work for the mine or for contractors engaged in construction at the mine, 40 per cent. in other urban occupations (trade, transport, local administration, &c.), and 14 per cent. are without employment. The majority of people are immigrants, only 10 per cent. of the adult men having been born there, though 30 per cent. are from Marampa Chiefdom itself. Skilled workers such as fitters, masons, carpenters, drivers of earth-moving equipment, and clerks tend to come from other towns, unskilled workers from rural areas.

The majority of people rent rooms in town, more than three-quarters of the house-owners renting rooms to strangers. The typical town house is square, with four or six rooms and a central parlour or passageway and verandas at the front and back. Many houses have a separate set of rooms at the back, the centre portion of which can be used as a kitchen, the side rooms being let. There is no clear-cut zoning on an occupational, class, or tribal basis. In the early days each major tribal group had its own sector, but with the passing of time this has broken down. Ethnic

¹ This paper is an enlargement of one presented at the Inaugural Seminar of the Centre of African Studies, University of Edinburgh, in January 1963. The fieldwork at Lunsar was carried out from 1959 onwards by a team from the University of Edinburgh under the general supervision of Dr. Kenneth Little and financed by the Nuffield Foundation. Periods spent by the author at Lunsar were from May 1959 to September 1960 and from September to mid-

December 1961. The analysis uses data from a number of surveys and inquiries: (a) a sample census, (b) a study of social factors affecting infant mortality, (c) an occupational survey, (d) questionnaires relating to work, (e) occupational ratings, (f) a study of membership of voluntary associations, from psychological tests, from observations of behaviour in different types of household, and from discussions of the findings with educated Temne.

mixture within a house is common, 22 per cent. of the houses having people of only one tribal group, 26 per cent. two, 26 per cent. three, 9 per cent. four, 14 per cent. five, and 3 per cent. six groups.

Tribal affiliation, place of origin, job, education, and religion determine where a person chooses to live. A man who comes from a village tends to stay first with a person from his own chiefdom and later, when he finds work and can pay rent, moves off into lodgings elsewhere. If a single man has a sister married in town he is likely to stay with his brother-in-law. Education and religion cut across ethnic ties —people who are Christians in this predominantly Muslim community (82 per cent. Muslim, 11 per cent. Christian, 7 per cent. pagan) or those who have attended secondary schools tend to associate together. Occupational interests are often an important tie; one may find a house full of fish traders, another of tailors, and another of school teachers, even though they come from different chiefdoms or are of different tribes.

This means that most houses contain unrelated families, and the household head-tenant relationship is the dominant one, accounting for 75 per cent. of the ties, the *nasin* (in-law) relationship for 10 per cent. The position varies, however, in different parts of the town. In the older section of town 34 per cent. of the adult men are related to the household head or his wives, in the newer suburbs the proportion drops to around 10 per cent. Extended families, consisting of a man and his wives, his sons and their wives, are to be found in the older part of town, rarely in the newer sections. One also finds two brothers living together under the same roof less frequently than in the villages,² though they may sometimes occupy neighbouring houses.

Most town families are of a two-generation span, the data for 100 families being

| | | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|-----------|
| Man and wife ^a (no children) ^b | . | . | . | . | . | 36 |
| Man, wife, children | . | . | . | . | . | 47 |
| Man, wife, children temporarily away | . | . | . | . | . | 2 |
| Man, wife, children+grandchildren | . | . | . | . | . | 8 |
| Man, wife, children+grandparent | . | . | . | . | . | 7 |
| | | | | | | <hr/> 100 |

^a Or wives.

^b Includes cases where children have died. This figure seems very high, though the same proportion was found by P. E. H. Hair in Enugu (unpublished report), and agrees with figures relating to Delco employees. It is based on data from the sample census, and it may have included a few cases where children had been sent back to relatives in the villages.

The grandchildren present are generally daughter's children, the grandparent generally a grandmother.

Though units of father, mother, and young children rather than larger kinship groups characterize the town, the family has perhaps fewer co-operative activities than are found in rural communities. Members do not work land jointly, rarely go anywhere together, and often eat separately. The mother and children of school age often have a meal at the time of the midday school break, the father when he comes back from work. For most of the day the man is away from the house, and often his leisure is spent outside the home in company with men who share his occupational and leisure interests. He goes to football matches which few women attend, and if

¹ J. Littlejohn: personal communication.

not a strict Muslim to palm-wine bars and shops which sell beer. Most boys, and an increasing number of girls, are sent to school and a good deal of a child's training now comes from teachers. Where the man is away at work, everyday life in the home centres very much on the mother. Although her life is much less strenuous than that of a village woman, she has to see that the children go to school in time, go to the market to buy food, obtain firewood, draw water, take sick children to the dispensary, &c. Often she adds to the family income by trading and the profits are used to supplement the food-supply.

The role of the father in regard to his children's training is tending to change, for a son's occupation is likely to be different from that of his father. In rural society a son could learn farming by helping his father, in town it is only in the case of a few trades like carpentry or blacksmithing that a boy can learn by hanging around a workshop. Work and home have become separated. At the same time a father's occupation now becomes of more significance in defining a person's general status in society. When practically all were farmers, there was little differentiation except perhaps between chiefly and non-chiefly families (though blacksmiths and native doctors had a specialized role), but in town consciousness of social differences becomes more marked and the children of rich traders, of senior staff at the mine, of teachers and clerks, &c. learn to behave in different ways from the children of labourers and unskilled workers. The result is that one has not simply 'an urban family' on the one hand which can be contrasted with the 'rural family' on the other. Instead one has a number of distinct types developing, corresponding in broad terms with socio-economic status, and influenced either by Christianity or by Islam. The types differ from one another in their conception of the tie between husband and wife, the nature of the home, the ideals that parents have for their children, their ideas on child training and the freedom that is allowed them (which is revealed by children's play), the extent to which social needs are met within the kin group or by outside organizations, and by general attitudes towards work and life.

(a) CHIEFLY AND LAND-OWNING FAMILIES

Here traditional customs and attitudes are still strong, though there has been some adaptation to modern conditions. The senior men in the chiefly lineages still marry many wives, even though some may be nominal Christians,¹ and households are consequently large. Compounds are divided into men's and women's sections, and in some instances the family is widely dispersed, the Paramount Chief, for example, having a house in Freetown, a compound in Lunsar, and a compound in Marampa. With dispersed families the father tends to be remote from his children, and they develop strong emotional ties with the mother, which are extended to the mother's brothers and sisters, while rivalry frequently develops between the children of different mothers by the same father.

Traditional culture plays an important part in children's early years, for there are often elderly women in the compound who help to look after small children. When

¹ Some members of the chiefly lineage are Christians, others staunch Muslims, while some, though adhering to Islam, play a leading part in traditional

rituals and secret societies. Religious adherence remains subordinate to the maintenance of political power.

children are sick they are generally first treated with traditional remedies, and only when these fail are they taken to hospital or to the dispensary. The large size of the households and compounds means that companions for play are found predominantly within their own kin group, and much of their play is like that found in the villages —making mud pies, playing with sand, making a whirligig with a piece of palm leaf on the end of a stick, 'cooking' (using pieces of stick and empty tin cans), spinning a seed with two holes in it on a piece of string, playing with a cricket or bird on the end of a string, &c. Girls are trained early in the traditional dances of the women's *Bondu* society.

As the chiefly and land-owning families are wealthy, receiving money from the Mining Company for its concession and from house rents in addition to traditional sources, they can afford to send their children to school, a number going on to secondary schools and a few being sent for advanced education overseas. Notions of their inherent superiority to others are instilled early in the children; they mix little with outsiders; others avoid offending them through fear of their parents; they dislike being excelled by others and prefer not to play rather than be beaten.

Young men occupy a somewhat uncertain position in the household. They can no longer associate with the women and small children, and if a chief or elder has married a number of young and attractive wives, he does not want young men around whether they are relatives or not. Young men too want to be free from the control of older men and so some move into houses elsewhere in the town owned by relatives, sometimes acting as 'head tenants' and collecting rents.

The marriages of young people are still frequently arranged by parents and marriage payments are high (£30 to £100), preventing quick marriages and easy divorces. Many young men, however, live with girl friends and have children by them, before a 'proper' family marriage is arranged. If the young man has no suitable accommodation of his own, the girl may stay with a relative of his, such as a maternal uncle. The girls are provided with money for trading, and then live a semi-independent life. A wife is married not so much because one likes her as on account of ties between lineages. 'Her family would be noble, for in time of difficulties I would need a whole-hearted support from her family. And in return I would also give the maximum respect and support to her own family.'

Membership in traditional secret societies is important, the men entering the higher grades, and often being members of several societies. At the same time the young men join modern associations, those connected with football and modern dancing as well as the semi-traditional dancing societies. Membership reflects the greater leisure and wealth of the men of this group and at the same time enables the ruling lineage to keep in touch with all that is going on. The fact that the only meeting-place in town, except for the schools, is the court *bare*, means that people wishing to stage entertainments have to be on good terms with local-authority officials. One is tempted to see in this habit of joining or initiating a multiplicity of associations a reflection of a feeling of insecurity, of no longer fitting into a large polygynous household dominated by elders, the associations providing a chance for the expression of individuality. The fact that they are dominated by personalities rather than by more abstract aims means that personal clashes are common and groups ephemeral.

The chieftainship passes in turn through four lineages of the Kobia clan. The aim of the chief in power is to build up his own wealth and destroy the power and wealth of rivals, particularly by fining them for ritual offences while he is in *kanta*, a period of seclusion before his formal coronation, from which there is no appeal.

In a chief's installation ceremony the elders use the phrase 'We have given you the land that you may feed on it', and though a chief is less able to exploit a heterogeneous urban population, control over the rural areas has changed little. In recent years a system of political parties has evolved, but at the local level rivalries are still fought out on traditional lines. Chiefs support the political party in power (the Sierra Leone People's Party) and those who oppose the chief and his supporters therefore take the labels of opposition parties. In the District Council elections, for example, those who stood against the Paramount Chief's supporters (generally his sub-chiefs and native authority officials) were predominantly from opposition branches of the chiefly clan.

This means that life is thought of to a large extent in terms of rivalry and suspicion, of getting the better of other people, of crushing opposition, of preventing other people getting the better of you. A paranoid outlook is common, and recourse to native doctors and Muslim *Alfas* for 'medicines' for protection and aggression is frequent.

Though many of the young men from chiefly families are educated, they do not feel the need to work, being maintained by their parents, or deriving income from rents. Physical labour is still something associated with slavery. Nor is any interest taken in technical work or craftsmanship, which are rather despised. When employment is sought it tends to be either clerical or government work, and kinsfolk in high places are relied on to put young men into suitable jobs. Qualities which enabled a Temne to succeed in the non-industrial world—self-seeking, aggressiveness, annoying persistence, and free resort to force and fraud backed by the use of supernatural sanctions—are not those which make for success in modern industrial or commercial establishments. Consequently men from the chiefly lineages are rarely to be found in commerce or industry, except for a few outstanding individuals in administrative positions where the prestige of their lineages serves to support their authority. On the other hand, with their control over natural resources such as sand in the river beds and rock quarries, and a command over labour, a number of men from chiefly families have been able to acquire wealth as contractors.

(b) FAMILIES OF MUSLIM RELIGIOUS TEACHERS

The households of the Muslim religious teachers show many of the same features—polygyny, larger than average compounds (25–30 people) with a division into men's and women's sections, arranged marriages, a high status in society, and a reluctance of the young men to enter industry. The occupations held in high esteem are religious teaching, farming, and trading. Some of the women, however, marry men working in industry. They differ from chiefly families in that emphasis is placed on Islamic education, and membership of secret societies is against their principles. The men belong either to the Muslim Brotherhood, a widespread organization based in Magburaka which encourages Arabic studies, or to the Young Muslims' Association, which is mainly concerned with helping members in the event of bereavement.

There is often a three-generation span in the household, an aged mother living with her son and helping to look after smaller children, or a daughter's children may be sent back for training. The family is enlarged by the presence of sisters' sons, wives' brothers or sisters, and pupils. Students farm for their teacher and help in the domestic work of the household, so wives have time to spend trading or preparing foodstuffs for sale. As the primary schools are run by missions, fewer children are sent there, but all, including girls, receive regular Arabic instruction from an early age, learning to read, write, and recite. The father, being resident in the compound, plays a greater part in the lives of the children both as a teacher and as a maintainer of discipline, and children are in a better position to identify themselves with adult roles. People frequently come to consult the teachers, visitors may lodge for a time, and children are quite used to dealing with visitors and strangers. From the age of about 12 onwards girls help their mothers in trading, being sent round the town in groups with trays of cakes, kola nuts, sweets, &c. for sale, and generally develop into conscientious and self-reliant characters. Many of the teachers have travelled widely and are progressive in outlook. They have better than average houses, frequently have water stand-pipes in the compound, and are willing to make use of modern medical facilities when anyone is ill.

(c) WELL-TO-DO FAMILIES

(including both senior staff at the mines and traders in the town)

In traditional Temne society chiefs tried to suppress outstanding individuals who showed signs of becoming too wealthy or too powerful. The fact that a man's wealth had increased was taken as proof in itself that he was in some way despoiling the community, and this was liable to lead either to accusations of witchcraft or heavy fines for infringing the privileges of the chief. The accumulation of wealth was also apt to arouse the hostility of kinsfolk, for clearly no one could hold on to wealth unless he ignored the claims that were made on him.

The emergence of well-to-do families (as distinct from the heads of the chiefly and sub-chiefly lineages) is a fairly recent phenomenon and has its roots in the establishment of a system of law and order under British rule in which a man's property became more secure, in the availability of highly paid jobs in industry and the policy of Africanization, and in fortunes obtained in the diamond areas of the south-east during the mid-nineteen-fifties. Those who have achieved prominence, however, whether by hard work or by sharp practices, tend to be men with aggressive and dominating personalities and an eye to the future. Though they support the ruling chief, they show little interest in political struggles, being primarily concerned with their job or business. As wealthy persons, however, they are expected to play a prominent role in town affairs. They will stand bail for people in trouble and will be expected to contribute funds for lantern-making at the end of Ramadan or for welcoming back the Paramount Chief after a visit abroad. They will be asked to be patrons at dances or social affairs. If their standard of education permits, this leads to their being invited to join various committees concerned with either entertainment or religious matters, and membership of these and, perhaps more important, of small informal cliques emphasizes their prominence. At the same time, putting

forward the same senior individuals for a multiplicity of positions serves to block off opportunities for others who aspire to leadership in only one particular sphere.

Success is shown by polygyny (for Muslims), a superior house (often of cement blocks), a car or Land-Rover, elaborate robes (for men), and innumerable dresses (for women). Some marry into chiefly lineages. Wives are provided with capital for trading, and often become leading traders in their own right, looking after a shop, or trading in the market, polygyny giving senior wives, at any rate, the time to devote to business. This sometimes leads to neglect of children—when a child is ill the mother is too busy with her shop to take it to the dispensary or hospital.

Wealth is often invested in houses which are let. The owner generally reserves one house for himself and his kin, the polygynous family often having additions such as sisters' or daughters' children, or wives' siblings. The central room in the house (the parlour) is finely furnished, and emphasis is placed on the possession of material goods—a radio, refrigerator, gramophone, wall clock, armchairs, linoleum, large mirrors, curtains, &c.

Children may be bought elaborate toys, tricycles, bicycles, kiddy cars, dolls, toy pistols, ludo, &c., but in their early years are restricted in their movements, playing either in their own houses or in enclosed compounds and are rarely allowed to move freely in the streets. Traditional beliefs reinforce the watch over children, for envious people are believed to express hatred by attacking children through witchcraft. The son of one of the prominent traders, for instance, was drowned in a river while away at school and this was interpreted as the result of malice against him. The houses of the rich are fenced off, strangers are not encouraged to enter the compound, and the inhabitants often have little to do with their neighbours. The idea of exclusiveness becomes prominent.

Parents can afford to send their children to secondary schools in the larger towns, and mobility of children is encouraged at the expense of immediate family solidarity. In a conversation reported in *Delco News* between a girl and her father (on the senior staff at the mine) an important trend can be noted:

Daughter: Dad, how long will you continue to work in this Company?

Dad: I would like to retire immediately you complete your secondary schooling: I know by that time three of my children will also complete elementary school.

Daughter: Are all we immediate members of your family expected to return and stay at home with you?

Dad: Not necessarily so; but as a family we must recognize our home whether we stay there permanently or not.

A switch has been made from the traditional idea that children are there to look after their parents to one where the father considers himself obliged to put up the money for a long and expensive education for his children. In return, however, ideas of getting on in the world, of obtaining a good job, or, in the case of girls, of marrying someone holding a good position in the civil service, industry, or trade, are stressed. A wider choice of marriage partner is possible than in the chiefly families, the partner is not so likely to be a locally born person as in their case, and individual preferences receive more consideration. At the same time parental views play a considerable part in encouraging or discouraging potential partners. Girls now become dependent on

marriage to the right men as individuals (by reason of their jobs) rather than as members of a kin group for their status.

Though children are not under an immediate obligation to contribute to the support of their parents, fathers generally desire their sons to follow in their footsteps. The sons of senior mine employees generally obtain work at the mine, though the policy of management is to put sons in a different department from their fathers, while the sons of traders and transport owners tend to remain in the same business. Those who break away generally enter clerical work. About half the daughters of traders marry transport owners or other traders.

In many of these prominent families parental discipline is very severe. The fathers tend to be very strict and the senior wives are often domineering women. The situation varies according to whether the father is out at work all day (as with mine employees), is away trading, when periods of pressure alternate with periods of relaxation, though this will depend on the strictness of the senior wife, or whether he is at home for long periods, when pressure can be long and unrelenting. Small children may be awakened out of their sleep at night to fetch a drink of water.

With lower-income workers fathers and mothers lose their tempers quickly and lash out at their offspring; but among well-to-do people the punishment for offences is often more methodical and long drawn out. The aims are either to extract a confession (and children soon learn to confess to anything), to beat a child into submission, or to drive out undesirable characteristics such as inattention to work, laziness, or the habit of breaking things, these being attributed to a *krifi* (devil) which can be beaten out by a severe enough thrashing. Punishment often takes place late at night when resistance is low, the child being kept in a state of anxiety for many hours beforehand knowing that punishment awaits it. The result is that many children in these families are very subdued, though periods away at school may sometimes alleviate this. Some react to punishment by running away from home to friends or relatives elsewhere in the town. Some turn on younger siblings when they think they can get away with it, or become cruel to animals. Others become openly rebellious in later life, and it is not surprising to find delinquent youths (their crimes generally taking the form of stealing) coming from some of the leading families (both groups (a) and (c)) in town.

(d) FAMILIES OF MEN IN SKILLED WORK

(fitters, electricians, drivers of heavy earth-moving equipment, skilled carpenters, &c.)

In general these men are in their twenties or early thirties and family units tend to be small. They normally rent rooms in contrast to men of groups (a), (b), and (c) who are house-owners. Many live in the more modern houses with cement floors, pan roofs, and lighter rooms than are found in old-style houses. The average number of inhabitants in a house of this type is about 15. More than 80 per cent. of the men are monogamous, and where there are two wives one is generally back in her home village. A man and his wife usually occupy one room, and the wife shares a kitchen or cooking-place with the other women in the house. The central parlour may be used by all, and children often sleep there on mats at night.

Though many of the men are sons of farmers, their educational standard is above

average, generally Standard VI or Form I or II of a secondary school, followed by several years of technical training. The wives are often village girls or town girls whose fathers are in a lower occupational category for whom marriage to men in a skilled trade has meant a decided improvement in their way of living. Marriages tend to be individual affairs. A man sees a girl he likes and makes a marriage payment to her father or guardian. As skilled workers are drawn from a wide area cross-tribal marriages become commoner and there is also a weakening of traditional Temne obligations between a man and his wife's kin. As the husbands are generally men who have come to Lunsar to take up employment, no older generation is present, and wives are free from difficulties with their mothers-in-law. Life is centred much more in the nuclear family, even though obligations to remoter kin at times of crisis such as a death still remain. There is a greater dependence of the spouses on one another. If a man becomes unemployed the wife may have to support the family by trading until the man gets another job. In spite of the fact that the husbands are literate and the wives illiterate no tension was observed which could be attributed to this, the difference merely preserving an element of male superiority.

Wives are often petty traders, but trade does not dominate their lives. Husbands are relatively well paid, wives have adequate food, are well dressed, and therefore tend to be quite happy and contented. Only if there are no children does trouble arise. Many live in the more recently built-up areas of the town where houses are rarely fenced off, so there is a greater degree of contact with neighbours than in the 'well-to-do families'. They meet other women at water stand-pipes in the streets (only the rich have stand-pipes in their own compounds) or at streams when washing clothes. With few of the older generation to influence them, they make greater use of the government midwife or the mine hospital when giving birth, and when their children are ill take them either to a chemist's shop, the dispensary, or the hospital. Infant clinics both in the town and at the mine assume importance as meeting-places for young women with a common interest in the rearing of small children.

Mothers devote quite a good deal of time and attention to their children, husbands being away at work all day. Children are treated with a good deal of affection, while at the same time being reasonably well disciplined, and most mothers are both patient and encouraging. The following observation is typical: 'The mother was sitting at a stall by her house selling rice. She was beating on a tin can while her small girl aged about eighteen months was trying to dance. The child moved rather shakily, then stopped dancing, and came over and asked for some rice. The mother gave it to her, but took it back at once, before she could spoil it. A customer arrived, so the child was put down on a mat a few feet away. She toddled back and was told gently, "Don't come for rice", but after a few minutes went and picked up some grains of rice. The mother asked, "What do you want to eat rice for?" took back the grains, picked her up and set her down again on the mat. Later the child got up. The mother said, "You've come back again? Well then, sit down here," and put her down close by. The girl pretended to sleep for a moment, and the mother remarked, "She has gone to sleep. Go to sleep, do you hear?" But the child rose, and tried to pick up a box of matches from the stall. Mother quickly took them and put them back. The child tried again, so she said, "I will beat you" and tapped the child lightly on her hands. The child attempted to hit back, but then moved off and

sat down.' In contrast in a labourer's household (group (f)) where a small child began to play with a knife, it merely received a clout across the back, the knife was snatched away, and nothing was said.

On their return from work fathers often play with their small children for a while when the mother is getting the evening meal ready. The older children in the families of skilled workers are not so restricted in their movements as those in group (c), and often go to neighbouring compounds to play with others. Small boys, especially those aged 12 to 14, have friends scattered widely in the neighbourhood and form little gangs who either play football together or make such things as wire lorries which they push around the streets. Older boys help younger ones in their construction, and sometimes make lorries for sale. Imaginative play is common; much of the play involves objects, even small babies being provided with rattles and rubber toys, and things are frequently made by the children themselves. The types of activities observed included: playing with plastic doll (girl aged 6); playing 'shop' (girls aged 6 and 8); using washers for 'money' (girl aged 6 and adult); playing at 'travelling by lorry' (girl aged 6, boy aged 7); playing with wooden blocks from a carpenter's shop (girl aged 4½); making lorries from pieces of wire (boys aged 12 to 14); making paper aeroplanes (boy aged 9); 'drawing water', using a margarine tin on a piece of string wound up by a piece of wire (girl aged 5). The children are on much more friendly terms with adults, being willing to explain what they are doing or show things they have made.

Many of the fathers have had a fairly hard time in getting an education and are determined that their children shall have better opportunities—better medical attention and better schooling. They have a different outlook on life from men in other groups, with a belief in their own ability to get on in life ('A skilled worker can get a job anywhere'). They express preferences for jobs which have the opportunities for promotion, which give the chance to work on one's own, or to demonstrate skill, in contrast to clerical workers who wish for jobs with high prestige and to traders who are concerned primarily with making money.

Though some of the younger men are to be found on committees dealing with football and other entertainments, relatively few of the married men with young children concern themselves with clubs and associations. Where they do, they tend to belong to larger and more impersonal organizations like the 'Young Muslims' Association' or the 'Catholic Men's Association'. Their lives have become centred around work and the home, their workmates in the daytime and their families and neighbours in the evening providing for their social needs.

Their general attitudes are illustrated by the following narratives describing 'a man and a woman':¹

(a) He is pleased because they have stayed for a long time and two of them planned not to leave one another till death. If at any time when the woman will not see her husband she will grow annoyed till she sees him. She is very proud always to her neighbours because she has clean dressings [i.e. dresses]. As for the husband he is very ambitious of seeing himself

¹ These and subsequent extracts relating to 'a man and a woman' are taken from data obtained by John Dawson in the course of psychological

testing at the mine. Subjects were asked to draw a person; then one of the opposite sex; and finally to write a narrative about the two.

decent to his workmates. Both of them are very glad because they got two children that are attending school.

(b) The female is considering how to produce children for the man and how to up keep the man's home to his satisfaction. The male is thinking how to find a job for the family to feed in, and how to prepare for the every day tasks. He has to up the children by clothing them, by schooling them. These two people have to plan very well before they could boast of getting a very good home. . . . Every step they do take should be of benefit to the family in general.

The complex of ideas includes: a stable marriage, affection between husband and wife, planning for the future, education of children, a wife who is interested in the home, and the respect of workmates and neighbours.

(e) FAMILIES OF CLERICAL WORKERS, TEACHERS, AND CIVIL SERVANTS

Fewer people in this group came under observation, partly because many of the clerical workers at the mine live in houses provided by the company in the mine compound, and not in the town, partly because it is only in recent years that education has become sufficiently widespread in Temne country for young men to be able to compete for clerical jobs, the majority of clerks and civil servants formerly being either Creole from Freetown or Mende from towns with a long history of education such as Bo.

The younger generation of Temne clerical workers are scattered through the town and share houses with people in various occupational groups, though teachers tend to associate together and occupy houses close to their schools. Civil servants live in government houses. In houses where there is a predominance of white-collar workers the number of inhabitants is below average (about 11), and greater use is made of the central parlour as a place where meals are eaten and visitors entertained.

There is some social identification between the various groups, for the teachers and civil servants have a joint football team; when a 'ball-dance' is held it is primarily men from these groups who attend; and departures from town on transfer are marked by 'send-off parties' for which contributions are sought from others of similar status and those who have had dealings with them in their official capacities.

Great importance is attached by these men to the fact that they are cultured and above the illiterate. An educated man does not like to be seen conversing with an illiterate. Formerly they *were* the élite, but it now tends to be the technically skilled men—fitters, electricians, mill foremen, and drivers of Euclid earth-moving machines—whose prestige is rising, and though clerical workers are striving to achieve a higher standard of living in furniture, clothing, food, and drink, they are often surpassed by illiterates who have made money either in trade or from diamonds, and by artisans. Their pay is too low for the standards they hope to achieve, teachers and native administration clerks in particular being poorly paid, and many get into financial difficulties. The temptation to misappropriate money entrusted to their charge is great, especially if they are connected with ruling groups where traditions of exploitation and appropriation are strong. What can occur is illustrated in 'The

Report of Commission of Inquiry into Disturbances in the Provinces (November, 1955 to March, 1956) :

One of the ruses employed to ensure that a name be taken off or omitted from the [tax assessment] list was known as 'kicking the table'. As the clerk was about to put a name on the list the objector, or suppliant, as one looks at it, kicked the table as the clerk was writing; that stopped the clerk writing and the offender was immediately fined, usually 12s. 6d., for kicking the table and upon that sum being paid over the clerk conveniently, as a result of the interruption, forgot to enter the name.

The report does not indicate to which area this referred.

As education has been largely in the hands of missions the proportion of Christians tends to be higher than among the population at large and there is more of a break with tradition. Marriage is now regarded as a matter of individual choice and many of the younger men cannot afford marriage payments on traditional lines or the expenses connected with a Church ceremony. Marriage is postponed to the late twenties and irregular unions take place, concubinage being at its highest among clerical workers. A 'western' pattern of love and marriage becomes the ideal—spouses marry because they are 'in love', though the difficulty now occurs of recognizing this new quality. Fewer children are desired, because their schooling and maintenance impose a heavy burden, and contraceptives are being increasingly used.

A description of 'a man and a woman' shows the pattern:

The above picture shows Mr. Kay and his wife. These two people have been in love . . . before they were married. They have three children, two are now attending a Secondary school, while the other is still in the Elementary school. These two people so love each other that they can hardly quarrel, but the only enmity which is existing now between them was the day when Mr. Kay informed his wife that he is now intending to marry, so that the other wife will assist her in doing her work. This made Mrs. Kay to leave her husband and go to her people. . . .

As teachers and civil servants are liable to be transferred and government houses are small, there is rarely a three-generation residential unit, though a mother may sometimes stay with her son. The servant problem in a small nuclear family, where the wife of an educated man feels she should not be doing menial work, is sometimes met by the 'ward' system in which the parents in an outlying village place a child in the care of a literate man in town in order that he may be trained and attend school, most villages being too small to have schools of their own. In return for food and education the child performs such services as sweeping the house, washing up, fetching wood and water, and running messages. This system is particularly strong among the Creoles with whom the Temne formerly placed their children, and among the Mende who send their children to relatives or 'big men' for training, and is now to some extent being adopted by the Temne.

Children are thought of in terms of bringing prestige to their parents. 'People will say "Look at Mr. So and So's son or daughter".' Consequently emphasis is placed on getting ahead in school, on behaving in public, on showing respect, and being clean and neatly dressed. Children's play activities often involve school materials—writing with chalk, using pencils and paper for drawing or scribbling, playing with plasticine, and reading books.

Children in this group spend a lot of time at home after school hours. Their parents insist that they take more interest in book work. There are very rare cases when these children fail to do their homework. More children in this group participate in school activities such as scouting, sports, concerts, church work and so on. Parents are always willing for and proud of their children taking an active part in these extra-curricular activities. It is here that their play activities are centred.¹

The habit of participation in group activities is carried into later life. Christians belong to church choirs and such organizations as the Catholic Men's Association. School teachers play a part in running Scouts, organizing sports, and so on. Men who have been to secondary schools belong to Old Boys' associations.

A keen interest in politics is taken by a number of the men and this sometimes finds expression in the formation of 'Improvement Societies', particularly among those who have been to secondary school. There is implicit in such associations the notion that the members are different from and above those they desire to change. But, as traditional rulers are often opposed to change and as the people whom they desire to influence either do not see themselves as inferior or, if they do, have no wish to be organized or controlled, little is achieved.

Among clerical workers one finds a wide range of association membership, but many of the groups are extremely small. A committee formed for a specific purpose, e.g. to organize a dance, becomes glorified into a club or social circle, even though its effective life may be very short. New-comers feeling a lack of social life sometimes try to introduce a new club, but get little support either because there is a general distrust of strangers, or because the time they select for meetings clashes with other events. Most people already have set ways of spending Saturday nights and Sunday evenings. All too frequently, when an organization does get started, the transfer of one or two key members leads to its breaking up. The type of family from which men have come influences the associational membership—those from chiefly lineages or connected with local administration still belong to traditional societies, those from urban Christian families have interests centred round churches and schools.

The varied origins of white-collar workers, the contrasts between the older generation, largely Creole, and younger men who no longer unreservedly accept all Creole values, the division between Christians and Muslims, between civil servants and non-government employees, as well as the changing prestige attached to various occupations, make this a category in which there are many lines of stress. A sense of frustration is common. Education, believed to be the key to wealth, prestige, and happiness, has somehow failed. Outstanding individuals can still make good, but many fall by the wayside.

(f) FAMILIES OF MEN IN UNSKILLED WORK

These are generally not far removed from rural society. The majority live in the older type of mud-walled, thatched-roof houses, with dark interior rooms, though some of these houses have now been reroofed with corrugated sheeting. The rooms of the house are used for storage or for sleeping, the central section of the house is a passage-way rather than a 'parlour', and most activities take place on the verandas,

¹ Comment by Victor Kanu, formerly Headmaster of the Roman Catholic School in Lunsar.

at the back of the house for the women, at the front for men. There are generally more people to a house than in the case of groups (*d*) and (*e*), averaging about 20. Generally the head of the house is polygynous, while those who rent rooms are either single men or men with only one wife.

The wages paid to labourers are not high (5s. 7d. to 6s. a day) and wives supplement family income by farming, making a garden, or petty trading. There is a very strong division between the woman's world (concerned with giving birth, looking after children, cooking and other domestic duties) and the man's (earning money or providing staple foods and clothing). Most domestic quarrels arise over food and wives are beaten for disobedience. The following story describing 'a man and a woman' illustrates these points:

One day Mr. X went to farm. He told his wife to cook some bananas and cassava. Anna said she won't do it, and the husband went away without eating anything. He caught hold of his wife and flogged her. The next day when he told her she did her work very worriedly. . . . In the morning Anna went and cooked rice for her husband. They were in peace till they all died.

A large number of children is desired—'As many as God will give'—but miscarriages, stillbirths, and infant deaths are commoner than among those who are educated or who live in better houses, and signs of malnutrition in children are more frequent. Children are not closely supervised, young ones generally being left in the care of slightly older children, though in some instances there is a grandmother to keep an eye on things. An adult enters the child's world primarily when he or she wants the child to fetch something. Boys have plenty of freedom of movement, and play around the streets, mainly at football. On moonlight nights they stay out very late. In contrast to freedom from supervision, the punishment for disobedience is often severe; a small boy may be made to do a knees-bend a hundred times in succession without a break or be locked up for a day. More commonly the adult loses his temper and thumps or thrashes the child mercilessly. It is rare to find anyone intervening to stop the punishment. Girls are more closely tied to the house by domestic duties, but play in the streets within range of the house and are permitted to go off to watch dancing and drumming near by at night.

The following description of 'a boy and a girl' illustrates a number of these points:

The boy is calling the girl to let them go to the stream . . . for swimming. She is busy with her mother cooking as her father who is a bunker labourer will soon be breaking off duty.

A great deal of the play activity of children is either noise-making or physical activity, which turns to an interest in the opposite sex at an early age. The boys blow tin whistles, beat 'drums' made from tin cans, and make trumpets from rolls of paper. They wrestle, fight, splash around in mud and rain, chase one another, turn cartwheels, bowl hoops around, climb trees after birds' nests, break through fences to see football matches, dress up as 'devils' and frighten girls. Girls sing, clap, and dance. When objects are used in play they tend to be sticks, old tins, or boxes picked up around the house—a small child, for instance, may be pushed around in a box by

an elder sibling. Small girls use bottles or corn cobs for 'babies', and learn to plait on corn-cob leaves. A sardine tin on a string may be pulled around as a 'lorry'. It is rare to see either a bought toy or an object which has been made by a child, though men working for Lebanese or Europeans sometimes bring back discarded or broken toys for their own children. Imitations of adults—of a cripple walking, of a pregnant woman, &c.—are a common feature of play, and the insane or mentally defective may be teased or annoyed. Stories emphasizing such traditional values as equality of treatment for co-wives, respect for one's in-laws, and punishment for greediness, as well as riddles and tongue-twisters, still continue to be told as in the villages, women telling them to children or children to their contemporaries and juniors.

The children are generally sent to primary school, except in the case of those who have come in from a rural area at too late an age, but they leave early. This is partly because the children have not taken to book learning, opportunities for study at home being particularly unfavourable, with little or no light in the house at night, no quiet, and no tradition of reading or studying; partly, it seems, because illness and malnutrition in early life affect later performance, and again because parents themselves are relatively unambitious for their children and in any case can rarely afford the fees, books, and clothing necessary for more advanced education. The traditional belief is that children have a natural obligation to support their parents whenever this is possible, and in polygynous households there is often opposition from wives who are generally unwilling to work and finance the education of their co-wives' children. In the case of girls a woman's proper place is felt to be in the kitchen, and though girls are now often sent to primary school, they rarely go beyond Standard III. Any further education is felt to be a waste of time and money.¹

Girls marry early, between fourteen and sixteen, but seem to go through a promiscuous experimental period before they settle down. Fulfilment is achieved not so much in terms of a good marriage or of a good husband as in giving birth. When a sample of fifty girls and young women were asked, 'If a *krifi* (spirit) were to offer you any three things that you wanted, what would you choose?' the commonest items requested were money or wealth (34 per cent.), to give birth (23 per cent.), and to have long life (13 per cent.), good luck (6 per cent.) being the next largest item. Responses which mentioned marriage, a good husband, a husband who loved her, &c. accounted for only 4 per cent. of the replies. It is worth noting that a girl from a chiefly family replied: wealth, to give birth, *a good marriage*; one whose father is on the senior staff at the mine: education, a good job, *a good husband*. One of the few illiterate women who mentioned a husband, asking for a husband who loved her, had been deserted by a previous husband and recently remarried. In contrast to the lack of emotion about the husband-wife link, very strong ties are felt between a woman, her daughter, and her daughter's children.

A few girls drift into prostitution, catering for both Europeans at the mine with whom they may stay for varying periods and for local Africans. Though there are a few exceptions, where a girl has abilities which cannot be developed or expressed in Temne society, or where the home situation has virtually forced the girl into it, the majority of girls who choose this life are not of very high intelligence and live

¹ Based on comments by Victor Kanu.

just for the pleasures of the moment. Their people do not seem to care particularly what they do and accept this as as good a way of life as any.

The men are not striving in a competitive world and are resigned to accept whatever fate brings. A better job is one where the pay is a little bit more and money is something to be spent and enjoyed at once, if any remains after pay days when debts are paid off. The proportion of Pagans and nominal Muslims is highest among the lower-paid men, and palm-wine bars do an increased business after pay days. Meanness is regarded as a fault, and though many families are themselves on the edge of poverty, help is given freely to kinsfolk who are out of work and to the afflicted—those who are blind, ill, mentally defective, or insane. It is the poorer people rather than the richer who are generous to them.

The men have as little as possible to do with those in positions of authority, and though clerical work is acknowledged to have high prestige, dislike is often strongly expressed of both local authority and minor government officials, who are often rude, condescending or unhelpful to the illiterate, and in the course of their job always make it appear that they are doing people a favour by attending to them. Small children are made to go to sleep, or are kept in order, by the threat that a policeman or a European will come and take them away if they do not behave. Trouble is avoided by keeping out of the way of officialdom.

Few men belong to any modern voluntary association, with the exception of the trade union in the case of mine workers (and the check-off system makes this almost an involuntary association), and Muslim Associations which help at burials. Rather more attention appears to be paid to burials than to marriages, whereas among the well-to-do it is the marriage ceremonies which attract most attention. Union leaders will be strongly supported in the case of a strike, even though attendances at ordinary union meetings are negligible, and are highly regarded, whereas among skilled workers the prestige of union officials is lower. Practically all the men, however, belong to some traditional society such as the *Poro* or *Kofo*.

When wives are about to give birth they generally go back to their home villages if their mothers are still alive, and comparatively little use is made of facilities in the town, though the wives of long-established workers at the mine are now making greater use of the mine hospital. Wives occasionally go back to the villages to help relatives at critical periods in the farming cycle such as at rice harvest or to acquire produce with which to trade. They often return to villages when suckling a child, and children at weaning time may be left with, or sent to, their maternal grandmother.

Marriages are still often arranged by parents, though there is perhaps more emphasis on the personal characteristics of the spouse—will he or she show respect for in-laws, work hard, and so on—than on the kin group to which they belong. A man may ask his parents to find him a wife, and accepts whatever girl they produce for him, though girls do not always agree to the first man suggested. Girls brought up in the town do not want to marry a farmer and prefer a man who works for wages. With a constant influx of males they have no difficulty in finding husbands. Some town girls marry men living very near to their parents' house and remain in close touch with their mothers.

At one end of the group of unskilled workers are stable families, as where the head has been with the mine for many years and has worked his way up to be the headman

of a gang of labourers, and where the sons tend to move into more skilled jobs, perhaps obtaining jobs as drivers, or joining the police, or, more rarely, obtaining an apprenticeship. At the other end are a few problem families for whom circumstances have been too much, and the maladjusted. In one instance of the former the head of the house is a widow, the eldest daughter a prostitute, the son is serving a prison sentence for theft, and most of the lodgers are unemployed. In one house one may find a number of uncommunicative characters who, one learns elsewhere, are in and out of prison regularly; in another, a group of youths who dress in 'cowboy' fashion with drain-pipe trousers or tight jeans, flamboyant shirts and dark glasses, smoke Indian hemp, spend much of their time gambling, indulge in pickpocketing and petty theft (influenced perhaps by films from which they have learnt many tricks) and who, if they work at all, are generally lorry apprentices.

CONCLUSIONS

Though Temne society is still in a phase of rapid change, distinct patterns of family life, which find many parallels in Western society, seem to have developed. The ruling lineages on the one hand and unskilled workers on the other carry over into the urban situation many traditional attitudes, and see society in terms of domination by the ruling group and submission by those under them. New influences, however, Islam and Christianity, the educational system with its division between technical training and book work, wealth acquired through trade or diamonds, competitive occupational placement, and rapid changes in occupational opportunity, are bringing about changes not merely in the formal structure of society but also in the personalities of its members.

Résumé

LA FAMILLE TEMNE DANS UNE VILLE MODERNE (LUNSAR), DANS LA SIERRA LEONE

LUNSAR s'est développée à côté d'une mine de fer. La population est composée principalement de Temne et les hommes sont, dans une grande proportion, des immigrants. La majorité loue des chambres et la plupart des familles comportent deux générations. On peut distinguer plusieurs types divers de familles qui se différencient suivant la conception qu'elles se font du lien unissant le mari et sa femme (selon qu'il est considéré comme un lien de parenté entre générations ou un sujet personnel), suivant la façon dont est considérée la nature de la maison, et l'usage qu'elles en font, suivant les idéaux que les parents ont pour leurs enfants, leurs idées quant à l'éducation de l'enfant, la nature des jeux auxquels les enfants se livrent, dans quelle mesure les besoins sont satisfaits dans le groupe apparenté ou dans les organisations extérieures (allant des cliniques de puériculture sociale aux sociétés secrètes) et suivant les attitudes devant le travail. Les types ainsi distingués sont: (a) Les familles de chefs et propriétaires de terrains, où les habitudes traditionnelles sont fortes; les membres pénètrent rarement dans le monde industriel et la vie est pensée en termes de 'l'emporter sur les autres'. (b) Les familles des instituteurs Moslem, manifestant aussi peu d'intérêt pour les emplois dans l'industrie, maintiennent les attitudes traditionnelles envers le mariage, mais elles fournissent un arrière-plan plus stable que les familles (a).

(c) Les familles aisées sont celles des commerçants dans la ville ou des employés supérieurs à la mine. Les chefs de famille sont souvent des personnalités dominantes, tenant essentiellement aux possessions matérielles, et l'idée d'exclusivité devient proéminente. La discipline est souvent sévère et les fils doivent suivre la voie de leurs pères. (d) Les familles d'artisans spécialisés; ceux-ci représentent un élément plus jeune et ont un niveau d'éducation plus élevé. La vie est beaucoup plus centrée autour de la famille nucléaire. Le mariage est souvent une affaire personnelle et les enfants sont traités avec plus d'affection. (e) Les familles des employés de bureau, instituteurs, etc., qui autrefois représentaient l'élite, sont maintenant dépassées à la fois par des illettrés qui se sont enrichis dans le commerce et par les artisans spécialisés. Leurs traitements sont souvent insuffisants pour maintenir le niveau de vie qu'ils désireraient. L'amour et le mariage sont conçus à la manière occidentale. La participation aux activités sociales en dehors de la vie familiale est fréquente. La chose importante est la qualité du travail des enfants à l'école. (f) Les familles d'hommes employés dans les travaux non spécialisés. Ils ne sont pas très éloignés de la société campagnarde. Il y a une forte scission entre les mondes des hommes et des femmes. Peu d'importance est attachée à l'affection entre le mari et sa femme; mais il y a de forts liens de tendresse entre une femme, sa fille et ses petits-enfants. Les enfants ne sont pas surveillés de très près, mais les punitions pour la désobéissance sont sévères. Les enfants quittent l'école de bonne heure et les filles se marient très jeunes. Les hommes ne sont pas ambitieux et évitent les ennuis en restant à l'écart de tout ce qui est bureaucratie.

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THE MANIPULATION OF RITUAL AMONG PLATEAU NIGERIANS¹

FRANCIS P. CONANT

DESPITE great linguistic and cultural diversity, sustained political relations among the many different groups of the Jos-Bauchi Plateau are a notably regular feature of this area of Northern Nigeria. That these relations are often expressed in a ritual context is an observation frequently made in the literature on the Plateau Pagans.² My intention here is to specify some of the *regular* ways in which ritual paraphernalia may be manipulated for a variety of secular purposes (often political) among communities of such very different kinds as those of the Plateau mountain people and neighbouring plainsmen. These manipulative techniques appear to be important in the analysis of such widely different phenomena as the adoption of Islam, technological diffusion, the spread of art styles, and, more generally, the successful persistence, through time, of relations between societies of very different levels of complexity and organization. My data are drawn from field experience among Barawa mountain settlements and the Bankalawa-Jarawa plains communities of Dass Independent District, Bauchi Province, on the east-south-eastern slopes of the Plateau.

For present purposes, 'ritual' paraphernalia or equipment may be generally defined as any or all artifacts esteemed as symbolic of, or containing, supernatural power. Thus, for example, of two visibly identical hoes, spear-points, or pots, only local informants may know which partakes of the supernatural. As locally defined, ritual paraphernalia may be manipulated in at least four ways. These are:

1. Deliberate entrustment to potential or actual rivals.³
2. Display (especially of items associated with supernatural sanctions of chiefly office) to outsiders.
3. Abandonment.
4. Control over both manufacture and distribution of ritual equipment.

The particular setting in which these manipulative techniques were observed has received only brief mention in the published literature.⁴ Some features of this setting are outlined in the following sections.

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² See, *passim*, Ames, 1934; Baker, 1955; Conant, 1960, 1961; Gunn, 1953, 1956; Gunn and Conant, 1960; Meek, 1931; and Temple, 1919.

³ The author was alerted by Harold Gunn, prior to fieldwork, to the sharing of ritual equipment as

a practice widespread in Northern Nigeria. See also Gunn, 1953, pp. 14, 23, 26, 28, for mention of ritual sharing among the Jerawa group, and 1956, pp. 48-64, 89-96, for the same among the hill peoples of Lere, Kauru, and Kagoro Districts of Zaria Emirate.

⁴ The main published sources on Dass are Temple, 1919, pp. 165-70, 422; Gunn, 1953, pp. 60-74. The reader is warned to be aware of the confusion in Ames, 1934, engendered by a failure to make clear the distinction between the Hill Jarawa, in Hausa *Jarawan duse*, and the Plains Jarawa, *Jarawan k'asa*. The Jarawa (and Bankalawa) of Dass are the plainsmen, *Jarawan k'asa*, having the antonym in Bankalanci-Jaranci of *gwok*, 'man/person'.

LOCATION AND TERRAIN

Dass Independent District is less than 300 square miles in area. Small as it is, the District includes the transition from the mountains of the south-eastern portion of the Plateau to surrounding plains and parklands. The climatic régime of Dass is essentially that of the Plateau, but modified on the plains by higher temperatures. The northern two-thirds of the District is mountainous; the transition to the plains is marked by a row of discontinuous, granite hills or 'plugs', largely bare of any earth cover. North of this line of inselbergs, the slopes of many mountains have been terraced by the mountaineers. Rainfall is approximately 44 inches per annum.

POPULATION

Total population of Dass District is about 16,000 persons of both sexes and all ages (according to 1958 tax-assessment records). Approximately one-third (5,300) of the total are Barawa mountaineers, with a population density of about 28 persons per square mile. Bankalawa and Jarawa plainsmen number some 10,700 persons, most of whom live in the narrow belt of plains and parkland in the southern part of the District. Density in this area is about 103 persons per square mile.

LANGUAGE

Hausa terminology is used by outsiders to refer to the peoples of Dass—Barawa, Bankalawa, and Jarawa—as well as to the languages spoken by these groups: Baranci, Bankalanci, Jaranci. Baranci has been classified by Greenberg as belonging, with Hausa, among the Western sub-groups of the Chad branch of the Afro-Asiatic family of languages. Bankalanci and Jaranci (which are closely related dialects) are given by Greenberg as co-ordinate members, with Bantu, of the Central Branch of the Niger-Congo family of languages (Greenberg, 1955, 101–16. Murdock, 1959, 92, mistakenly groups Baranci with Bankalanci-Jaranci, but correctly cites Sayanci, closely related to Baranci, as Chadic). The *lingua franca* of the area is Hausa. Borrowings from Hausa into the indigenous languages supplement or replace vocabulary areas such as higher numerals, kin terms of address, political titles, times of day, calendrical and seasonal terms, and words for some crops (Conant, 1961).

COMMUNITY TYPES

No greater contrast emerges in the comparison of mountain people and plainsmen in Dass than by reference to the nature of their respective communities. The term community, as used here, refers mainly to a replicable spatial and temporal pattern of organization (cf. Arensberg, 1954, 122; 1955, 1144–6; 1957, 92–98; 1961, 248, 250–60).

Among the Barawa mountain people neither territoriality nor boundary-marking distinguishes one subdivision of a community from another. The community has not one settlement site but many. The limits of the community are ever in need of rediscovery, and, in fact, are apparently continually being probed by the Barawa themselves, according to the needs of their times. Some fifty or sixty years ago offensive and defensive military alliances segmented off settlement areas into discrete groupings; different groupings are, in effect, in the contemporary period responses to other factors (mainly administrative, economic, and political). Indigenous agree-

ment on what constitutes a Barawa community is apparently secured largely by reference to language and dialect deviation, with mutual intelligibility as the limiting factor. The distribution of Baranci is highly discontinuous; it 'leap-frogs' other languages, and interdigitates spatially with other language areas—a linguistic reflection of the areal amorphousness of the community itself. The Dass Barawa artificially delimit, or internally subdivide, their communities by reference to male initiation ceremonies, held every five years. While any given settlement area is likely to have all the personnel necessary for the performance of the ritual, the practice is to call upon the specialist personnel of another area to lead the ceremony. This artificial limitation on the use of local personnel results in a kind of contract between settlement areas and, periodically at least, welds them into a larger community. Largely for this reason, I have characterized the Barawa mountaineers as having a 'contract community', in contrast to the 'market community' of the Bankalawa and Jarawa plainsmen (Conant, 1962).

The 'market community' consists of one or more settlement areas, often subdivided into wards, in which the compounds are tightly clustered. Fields under cultivation surround each settlement site, and not, as in the mountains, each compound. The most important contrast, however, between the two community types is the market. In the mountains a market-place is situated at a point of convenience, such as the meeting of two important footpaths, and bears only a tenuous relationship to the location of nearby settlement areas. On the plains a settlement site lacking a market is in a position of social, economic, political, and ritual dependency on a site which includes a market. The market site, plus the sites lacking markets of their own, together make up the 'market community'. Upright stone stelae are traditional symbols of community distinctiveness, but do not represent a line-of-sight demarcation of territory.

A galaxy of political officers surrounds the chief of a Bankalawa or Jarawa market community, and non-titled persons are generally excluded from the chief's council. In the contract community of the Barawa, a chief is a political leader in name only, and his council will include the heads of all compounds, as well as all cult leaders. Political power among mountain people is quite intentionally diffuse; while theoretically a cult leader may fall heir to political office, or vice versa, such a double role is viewed with suspicion and distrust. Among the Barawa, the cult group is also the co-operative labour unit, and a cult leader's reputation largely depends on his ability to command the co-operation of his followers. Among the plainsmen, both Pagan and Muslim, the residential group, or ward, is the co-operative work unit, and the ward leader is also the custodian of all or most ritual paraphernalia; political and religious office may be inseparable.

RITUAL PARAPHERNALIA, EVENTS, AND BELIEFS

Pagan Barawa and Bankalawa—Jarawa have as central to their beliefs a generalized ancestor figure referred to as *dodo*.¹ Dancers impersonate *dodo* at harvest time by wearing costumes made from the leaves of the bush-banana tree (H., *ayaban daji*; Baranci, *vovarom*; Bot. *Musa sapientium*, Dalziel, 1916). Among plainsmen, *dodo* is

¹ While *dodo* in Hausa may be any kind of goblin, in Dass the term refers to anonymous ancestors. In Baranci the equivalent term is *momsir*, and in Bankalanci-Jaranci the term is *ngutnza*.

represented by dancers dressed in grass or combed hemp (H., *mai tohuwa* and *mai-rama*; Bot. *Imperata arundinacea* and *Hibiscus cannabinus*, Dalziel, 1916). Harvest-time rites also include impersonation of the only other major supernatural figure among mountaineers and plainsmen, *jankai* (? Hausa, 'red head'; no local variants). *Jankai* is an awesome figure and widely feared. The *jankai* costume consists of a helmet-like basket decorated with red beans (*Abrus precatorius*, and the fruit of the tree *Erythrina senegalensis*, Dalziel, 1916). The dancer's body is covered by a loose robe, much like the Hausa *riga*.

Barawa and Bankalawa-Jarawa equivalents of the Hausa *iskoki* spirits are known, respectively, as *sori* and *kwa'ar*. These are, however, much less highly conceptualized than among the Hausa. In Dass, *sori* and *kwa'ar* are never seen, but are manifest in sound only. There is little conjecture as to their appearance or individual characteristics (cf. Greenberg, 1946, for the elaborate concepts surrounding the Hausa *iskoki* spirits).

Among mountaineers and plainsmen, a pole, about 10 feet high, may be found in front of many compounds. The pole rises vertically from a pile of rocks, about 3 feet high, and containing grinding-stones 'stolen' from the women of the compound. The entire construction is known locally as *ngyæp* (Baranci). The pole is splashed with a mixture of sorghum and water at harvest time, repainted with red ochre every five years, and replaced on the death of a compound head. Any leopard killed in the vicinity of an *ngyæp* is laid at the base of the pole, with the mouth of the animal propped open with a grinding-stone. The pole is said to help its owner to remember the names of his forebears, and should removal of the household be necessary, the entire construction may be dismantled and reassembled at a new location. *Ngyæp* is by far the most ideologically complex item of ritual equipment in general use in the Dass area.

Among both mountain and plains people, a chief's compound contains a variety of personal equipment belonging to predecessors in office. Weapons, especially, are symbolic of chiefly status, but may also be owned by cult leaders. A variety of organic and inorganic exotica make up the ritual equipment of the cult leader: finger bones, animal horns, leopard skins, monkey skulls, human kidney fat, grinding-stones, polished celts, hoe blades, dried herbs, roots, and rock gongs.¹

Among mountain people most, if not all, the foregoing ritual paraphernalia and events are subject to manipulation with a common and fairly definite objective in mind: aggrandizement of the size of a cult leader's following. An apparent exception to this is the initiation ceremony, when cult leaders suspend (somewhat unwillingly) competitive bids to increase their following. Less generally, among the Barawa, ritual manipulation may involve relationships between mountain settlements, or between these settlements and plains communities. This is so, at least, in contemporary times; prior to European administration, offensive-defensive alliances were frequent. Our first example of ritual manipulation concerns such an alliance—between a mountain settlement and a plains community.

MANIPULATION OF RITUAL: ENTRUSTMENT

Bankalawa plainsmen probably first settled in Dass about 200 years ago. Oral traditions collected from a variety of informants cite an individual by the name of

¹ For the importance of these instruments see Vaughan, 1962, and Conant, 1960a.

Mandalok as the leader of the Bankalawa settlers. Tradition has it that Mandalok approached the Barawa settlement of Dot for permission to settle at the foot-hills of the Dass mountains. Permission was granted on the condition that Mandalok turn over to the Dot Barawa a two-necked pot containing paraphernalia used in the performance of Bankalawa harvest ritual (as well as at the installation of new chiefs). The Dot Barawa accepted the pot and its contents as a token of good faith, returning the equipment when needed by the Bankalawa. Mandalok and his followers subsequently founded the 'market community' of Bundot (in Baranci, literally 'belly of Dot'). If, for any reason, Bankalawa-Barawa relations had become unfriendly, informants stated that the pot and its contents would have been withheld by the one side or the other. The pot (although not its contents) is still in ritual use, and is still spoken of as evidence of the friendly relations existing between the Barawa settlement of Dot and the Bankalawa community of Bundot. The Barawa imitated the Bankalawa pot, and it is possible that the regular entrustment of ritual objects may have a direct bearing on the spread of an art style.¹

DISPLAY

Prior to their adoption of Islam, about forty years ago, the Dass Jarawa, like other plainsmen, staged an annual harvest-time ceremony. In the literature, such a ceremony is often described as a harvest or thanksgiving ceremony (cf. Ames, 1934, 91-92) and referred to by the Hausa term *biki*, a 'feast'. In Dass the high point or climax of the ceremony is the display of artifacts inherited by the market-community chiefs from their predecessors. These artifacts include a variety of weapons (spear points, swords, knives), articles of personal usage (sandals, metal bowls and pots), as well as items symbolic of the chiefly office itself (double iron hand-gongs, animal horns, bells). Possession of such objects is proof of legitimate occupancy of the plains chieftainship.

During the annual harvest-time ceremonies, these symbols of chiefly status were, and are, displayed to all male members of the community. This display follows a week of 'open house', during which large quantities of food and (especially) beer are consumed. The climax of the feasting period is the presentation of pots of beer to the chief of the community—after which individual donors are permitted to view their leader's inherited paraphernalia and symbols of office. Refusal to view these objects is a legitimate way of contesting a chief's authority, or of indicating a high degree of dissatisfaction with his leadership.

Additionally, an important aspect of the ceremony is the opportunity afforded to the chief for initiating or maintaining relations with other communities and settlements. To this end, a local chief may invite representatives from other communities to view the display of his ritual paraphernalia, and some care is taken to ensure that the ceremonial weeks of different communities do not conflict with each other. So regular has been the timing of these ceremonies that today the months during which they are held are often spoken of in Hausa as *watan Bankalawa*, 'the month (or "moon") of the Bankalawa', *watan Angasawa*, 'the month of the Angass', and so on. These terms do not indicate which Bankalawa, Jarawa, or Angass community is

¹ The author is indebted to Dr. Roy Sieber, Professor of Art at the State University of Iowa, for the implications of the entrustment of ritual objects in the spread of art styles.

holding a ceremony; rather, they refer to widely scattered communities sharing similar languages or dialects. These harvest-time ceremonies, involving the deliberate display of otherwise secret or closely guarded ritual paraphernalia, not only reinforce ties between geographically scattered speakers of related dialects, but also provide an opportunity for the assemblage of representatives from different communities among whom there exists a desire or need for common cause. For example, the Jarawa of Bununu-Dass, anxious to assure themselves of a continuing supply of metal weapons manufactured in the south, regularly invited Angass and Sayawa to attend *watan Jarawa*. Angass and Sayawa delegates were shown the chiefly paraphernalia of the Bununu-Dass Jarawa, whereas neighbouring Bankalawa and Barawa were not. These last, in fact, did not know the nature of the ritual equipment previously associated with the Jarawa chieftainship.

Regular participation in such ceremonies by delegates from different communities may lead to the extended use of the term *abokin wasa*, a Hausa kin term for cross-cousins, between whom a joking or play relationship exists. Members of communities standing in such a relationship are expected to offer each other food and hospitality—and the practice may continue long after the original reason for the alliance may have been changed or forgotten. (For example, no one in Dass could recall why the Dass Jarawa and the Kanuri consider themselves *abokin wasa*. During the course of fieldwork, a Kanuri beggar—himself ignorant of the *abokin wasa* relationship—wandered through Bununu-Dass and received an unexpected windfall of hospitality.)

A contemporary political coalition of Pagans living on or near the plains of Dass appears to be intimately related to the fact that the Barawa settlement of New Wandi has begun staging a *watan Barawa* of its own (about five have been held so far). The Bundot Bankalawa are regularly invited, but representatives from other Barawa settlements are not. In this case, the only ritual item the chief of New Wandi has to display is simply the *ngyep* pole in front of his compound—a matter of some amusement to the Bundot Bankalawa, who are used to the display of more elaborate, and certainly more closely guarded, ritual equipment.

ABANDONMENT

A third manipulative technique found among Plateau peoples is the deliberate abandonment, by individuals or by groups, of ritual paraphernalia. Abandonment frequently, but not necessarily, involves adoption of the religious paraphernalia of another settlement or community. About ten years ago, in Dass, the head of a compound in the Pagan Jarawa settlement of Gwop was accused of sorcery and expelled. Permission to remove with his immediate family to the Bankalawa community of Bundot was obtained only after the accused had agreed to abandon (in fact, destroy) the *ngyep* pole which had stood in front of his compound in Gwop. Given the complex of beliefs for which *ngyep* stands, its abandonment is perhaps the most extreme example of the pragmatic attitude maintained toward ritual equipment. The accused individual, in this instance, did not adopt the ritual and paraphernalia of the Bundot Bankalawa ward into which he moved. Instead, he joined the ranks of what might be called the 'Unaffiliated'—individuals, often associated with the larger markets, who not only lack a particular religious affiliation, but are marginal to, or deviate from, the dominant culture patterns in the area.

A second example of ritual abandonment took place in Dass about twenty-five years ago. For administrative reasons, the Barawa settlement of Zumbul was placed under the authority—for the purpose of collecting head-tax—of another Barawa settlement, New Wandi. This administrative measure was resented in Zumbul, and about a dozen household heads removed themselves and their families so as to come under the tax jurisdiction of the Barawa settlement of Kuletu. Permission for this move was obtained only after the Zumbul householders had agreed to jettison their ritual equipment and adopt that of the cult leaders in Kuletu. Admittedly, the cult objects and equipment in use in the two settlements differed only in detail, and it might be argued that the Zumbul dissidents were only trading one set of ritual equipment for another, very similar set. But it is precisely within the range of dissimilar *detail* that one finds variation in the rumoured efficacy of ritual equipment. For example, one cult leader outlined the eyes of a *jankai* helmet with cowrie shells, while another alternated cowrie shells with Coca-cola bottle caps; the latter helmet enjoyed a local reputation for the prevention of adultery which the former did not.

Abandonment of ritual paraphernalia by both individuals and groups may lead to the immediate adoption of Islam (rarely Christianity). On the conversion to Islam, and subsequent succession to office, of the present Chief of Dass, holders of lesser political titles jettisoned their pagan paraphernalia to join their leader's faith. Costumes of *dodo* and *jankai*, many *ngyap* poles, as well as sacred hoe blades, celts, weapons, sandals, and divining paraphernalia were thrown away in the bush. Some items were salvaged in the course of fieldwork, but the greater part of the equipment had disintegrated. Studies of the spread of Islam in Nigeria have stressed the functional congruence of many Islamic and Pagan beliefs (cf. Greenberg, 1946, 1947; Trimingham, 1959). In so far as the adoption of Islam entails the abandonment of most, if not all, Pagan ritual paraphernalia, yet another functional congruence may be noted—the abandonment of ritual equipment having considerable precedent in an entirely Pagan context.

DISTRIBUTION

A fourth manipulative technique involves the selective distribution of ritual artifacts. Mumini, the founder of the Jarawa community of Bununu-Dass, had with him an iron spear point when he led the first migration of Jarawa from Bununu-Bula to the Dass hills. Such spear points are widely used as symbols of chiefly or royal status, and are said to contain great power in the sleeve at the base of the point for socketing to the shaft of the spear. At least two copies of this spear point are known to have been made and presented by Mumini and his successors to the chiefs of settlements and communities in Dass with whom friendly relations were established (Old Wandi and Baraza). The process appears rather similar to that by which the founders of the Muslim Emirates received their 'flags' from the Sultan of Sokoto. Another example of distribution may be seen in the set of small rock gongs associated with the initiation ritual staged at the Bankalawa-Jarawa community of Lir. The gongs are said to have been carried to the site by the original migrants from Gwalthir, about twenty miles to the south. More recently, the Bankalawa-Jarawa of Lir may have provided a set of gongs for use at the nearby settlement of Galagam—although

informants at Galagam contested this claim, and maintained that they had received their gongs from the Barawa mountaineers.

Barawa informants in the mountain settlement areas of Zumbul, Old Polchi and Kuletu claimed that until some fifty years ago their practice had been to travel through the mountains to the Afusare settlement of Fobur in order to get baskets serving as the foundation for *jankai* helmets. It seems likely that these trips to Fobur (about fifty miles distant) were made as much for the purpose of maintaining communication with the Afusare as for obtaining baskets—Barawa basketry being fully comparable to that of the Afusare in terms of technical competence. Maintenance of good relations with the Afusare before the advent of British administration may have been of prime importance, especially during the sporadic attempts by Bauchi Emirate to subjugate Plateau peoples by force. A reasonable possibility is that Afusare manufactured and distributed *jankai* baskets to other mountain groups with which defensive alliances were being maintained. In any event, ever since *pax Britannica*, the manufacture and distribution of *jankai* baskets has been 'decontrolled', so to speak, and their local manufacture is now widespread in Dass, and has been for the past fifty years or so.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this paper has been to specify four of the ways in which ritual paraphernalia may be manipulated by peoples of the Plateau area in Northern Nigeria. These techniques include the deliberate entrustment, display, abandonment, and distribution of such equipment for a variety of purposes, many of them secular, and some of them specifically political. There may well be other ways of manipulating ritual paraphernalia apart from those already cited and exemplified.

These techniques appear pertinent to the study of the diffusion of particular traits of material culture, the imitation and spread of art styles, maintenance of contact between speakers of widely scattered dialect groups, and the adoption of Islam. Sophistication in the manipulation of ritual is every bit as evident among the mountain people as among plainsmen; that is, the Barawa, having a roughly egalitarian social and political organization, are fully as facile at manipulating ritual paraphernalia as are the Bankalawa and Jarawa, who have far more intricately structured social and political systems. The importance of ritual manipulation may be seen most generally in the extent to which it has contributed to the maintenance of relations between two such very different cultures as those of the Barawa and Bankalawa-Jarawa.

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Résumé

MANIPULATION DES OBJETS RITUELS CHEZ LES NIGÉRIENS DU PLATEAU

CET article a été rédigé en vue de décrire l'utilisation régulière des objets rituels dans des buts variés (souvent politiques) dans des communautés de genres différents. Les éléments d'information ont été recueillis chez les montagnards Barawa et dans les communautés Bankalawa-Jarawa des plaines de Dass, territoire indépendant situé dans la Province de Bauchi.

Les biens rituels sont considérés comme des objets symboliques renfermant une puissance surnaturelle. Chez les montagnards Barawa, ils peuvent être utilisés pour augmenter le nombre des fidèles pour certains chefs religieux, et chez les Bankalawa-Jarawa comme affirmation générale de la situation du grand chef. Ils renforcent ainsi les liens entre les représentants de communautés géographiquement dispersées mais possédant des dialectes apparentés et ils offrent une occasion de rassembler les délégués des différentes communautés qui désirent ou qui éprouvent le besoin de coopérer. La participation régulière à de telles cérémonies peut conduire à l'extension de l'usage du terme Haousa *abokin-wasa* qui s'adresse aux cousins entre lesquels il s'est établie une parenté à plaisanterie. Les membres des communautés entre lesquelles une telle relation existe doivent s'offrir, les uns aux autres, l'hospitalité et la nourriture. Cette alliance peut durer longtemps, même si sa raison d'être a été oubliée ou modifiée. Parfois les objets rituels sont abandonnés, comme lors d'une conversion à l'Islam, ou ceux d'une autre communauté peuvent être adoptés. Un exemple

de distribution des objets rituels est donné par la confection de la vannerie rituelle chez les Afusare. Ceux-ci les donnaient à d'autres groupes des montagnes avec lesquels ils maintenaient des alliances de défense. L'importance de la manipulation des objets rituels se traduit par des faits très divers : l'adoption de l'Islam, la diffusion technologique, le déploiement de styles d'art, le maintien de rapports entre deux cultures aussi différentes que celles des Barawa et des Bankalawa-Jarawa.

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THE LINGUISTIC PREHISTORY OF SOUTHERN AFRICA: BUSH, KWADI, HOTTENTOT, AND BANTU LINGUISTIC RELATIONSHIPS¹

E. O. J. WESTPHAL

THE languages dealt with in this paper are Bush 'A', 'B', 'C', and 'D', Kwadi, Hottentot, and about 20 Bantu language groups, comprising more than 50 distinct dialects. It is concerned with pre-Bantu history and the Bush, Kwadi, and Hottentot languages, but material on Bantu is included for the following reasons: (a) The information relevant to a discussion of the peopling of Southern Africa by Bantu-speaking peoples is scattered in the available literature or is not available at all, and, (b) Bantu traditional lore has something to say on the subject of pre-Bantu indigenous peoples of Southern Africa, and there must therefore be some evaluation of the relationship of modern and early Bantu languages and an attempt must be made to define their recent and early traditional language areas.

LINGUISTICS AND FOLKLORE AND HISTORICAL EVIDENCE

Although there is perhaps an unrecognized correlation between language and race and language and culture, there are no barriers to forms of human association. There is, for example, no guarantee that Negroes will not speak Bush languages and live a primitive hunting and collecting life, or that Hottentots will not speak English and live a seafaring life. Concerning our present subject, there is no available proof that all the people described as Bush-Hottentot (or Bush-Boskopoid or Khoisan) racially, do or did in fact speak a language of one and the same language family. Anthropologists and serologists sometimes claim that their sciences do not endorse the traditional and popular distinction made between Bushmen and Hottentots. Serologists may go even further and show that their criteria do not enable them to distinguish between Negroes, Bushmen, and Hottentots. Linguistics cannot confirm or refute these findings, which are no doubt based on rigid disciplinary criteria, and we must make clear at the outset that a linguist's Bushman, Hottentot, or Bantu is a person who speaks the language in question in a certain social setting and in a definable linguistic area.

From a linguistic point of view the situation is clear: the various Bush languages, Kwadi, Hottentot, and Bantu, have nothing in common with each other. We cannot as yet set up any sound-shifts by means of which we can transcribe items in any one of these languages into items in any of the others. We cannot therefore state that they have anything but borrowings in common, and it follows that we cannot say that they have genetic relationship.

If a language is dead, a linguist cannot infer the race, economy, and culture of

¹ Some of the material for this paper was originally presented at a meeting of the African History Seminar of the School of Oriental and African

Studies under the title: 'The evidence of linguistic relationships: Bush and Hottentot.'

a pre-literate people from linguistic survivals. Where a language is not dead, but survives in association with a culture as a remnant of a group or family with a presumed wider distribution, the matter is somewhat different. Here a linguist may draw on three kinds of information, only two of which are truly linguistic: (a) his knowledge of strictly linguistic matters including the disposition of dialects and the incorporation of fragments in the structure of the invading language, (b) his knowledge of the folklore in the remnant language and in neighbouring languages, including the invading language, and (c) his firsthand knowledge of the culture and history of the remnant people concerned. The folklore of minor groups has not been systematically studied in the past, and it is only recently that it has been seen to have a particular place in the histories of major language groups. The historical studies by van Warmelo,¹ Krige,² and Abraham³ are almost the only examples of a comprehensive and comparative treatment of the lore of minor groups within the larger language groups. Hottentot lore is of the shallowest time-depths, and, where it has been systematically collected, has been adequately commented on by Vedder.^{4,5} A Bushman lore which has any bearing on historical matters does not exist.

Southern Africa Defined

The area discussed in this paper is always that to the south of the east-west continental watershed dividing the Zambezi, Okavango and Kunene Basins from the Congo and Nile Basins.⁶ With the exception of the Eastern Coastal Strip, the rain or mist-forests of the Eastern Escarpment, and the Western Coastal Strip with its desert or semi-desert, the region may be classified by reference to a combination of vegetation, climate, and altitude conditions as *Highveld* (grasslands of the Orange Free State, Southern Transvaal, and parts of Natal and the Cape), *Karoo* (grasslands and shrub of the Cape and southern South-West Africa (SWA), *Bushveld* (mixed savannah and so-called thornveld of the SWA Escarpment), *Sub-tropical Forests* (Southern Rhodesia and other areas including the eastern part of Angola), and *Kalahari* (which I unconventionally divide into limeveld and sandveld). While unconventional, such a classification has a bearing on the peopling of the region. Traditions suggest that the Eastern Coastal Strip, the Mopani River Valleys (Zambezi and Limpopo), the Kaokoveld (or North-western Coastal Strip), and some areas north of the Mopani Belt generally, were inhabited by a primitive black people. Bantu settlers found such people as the Lala, Mlambo, Kxhaxa, and Ngona in the east. The Nama Hottentots found the Dama in the west. The Hottentots occupied the Karoo and the Kalahari limeveld in which water-pans form on limestone deposits in the brief rainy season. The various Bush people today occupy the Southern Kalahari sandveld, the North-eastern SWA sandveld (or *omuheke*) and a variety of areas in Angola, many of them in the sandy bushveld and forest areas of the south-east. In the Eastern Transvaal they live around the Lake Chrissie water-pans. In

¹ N. J. van Warmelo, *A Preliminary Survey of the Bantu Tribes of South Africa*, Govt. Printer, Pretoria, 1935.

² Eileen Krige, 'Traditional Origins and Tribal Relationships of the Sotho of the Northern Transvaal', *BS* ii, 1937.

³ D. P. Abraham, 'The Monomotapa Dynasty', *NADA*, 1959.

⁴ H. Vedder, *Das alte Südwestafrika*, Berlin, 1933.

⁵ H. Vedder, *Einführung in die Geschichte Südwestafrikas*, Windhoek, 1953.

⁶ John H. Wellington, *Southern Africa*, vols. i and ii, C.U.P., 1955.

recent historical times speakers of Bush languages were known to have lived in areas of the Karroo and of the Highveld and in the mountainous areas of Basutoland and Natal.

The present Bantu-speaking peoples south of the Mopani Belt were, by their own traditions, immigrants in this area. The inter-Mopani area of Southern Rhodesia has a long history of Bantu occupation but seems to have been originally populated from a centre in the west. The eastern areas along the Escarpment south of the Mopani Belt were occupied by Bantu speakers at an early stage, notwithstanding the traditions of later powerful groups. What happened to these early settlers will perhaps be revealed when it becomes possible to correlate scraps of linguistic evidence from various widely scattered languages. Two early points of entry into the area south of the Zambezi suggest themselves from traditions: (1) a well-recognized one from Barotseland and adjacent areas in Northern Rhodesia, and (2) a new one across the Lower Zambezi east of Tete. In the west there are several, but the two main ones seem to be (1) down the western Escarpment and (2) along the borders of the sandveld from north-east to south-west.

LINGUISTIC NOTES AND CONCLUSIONS

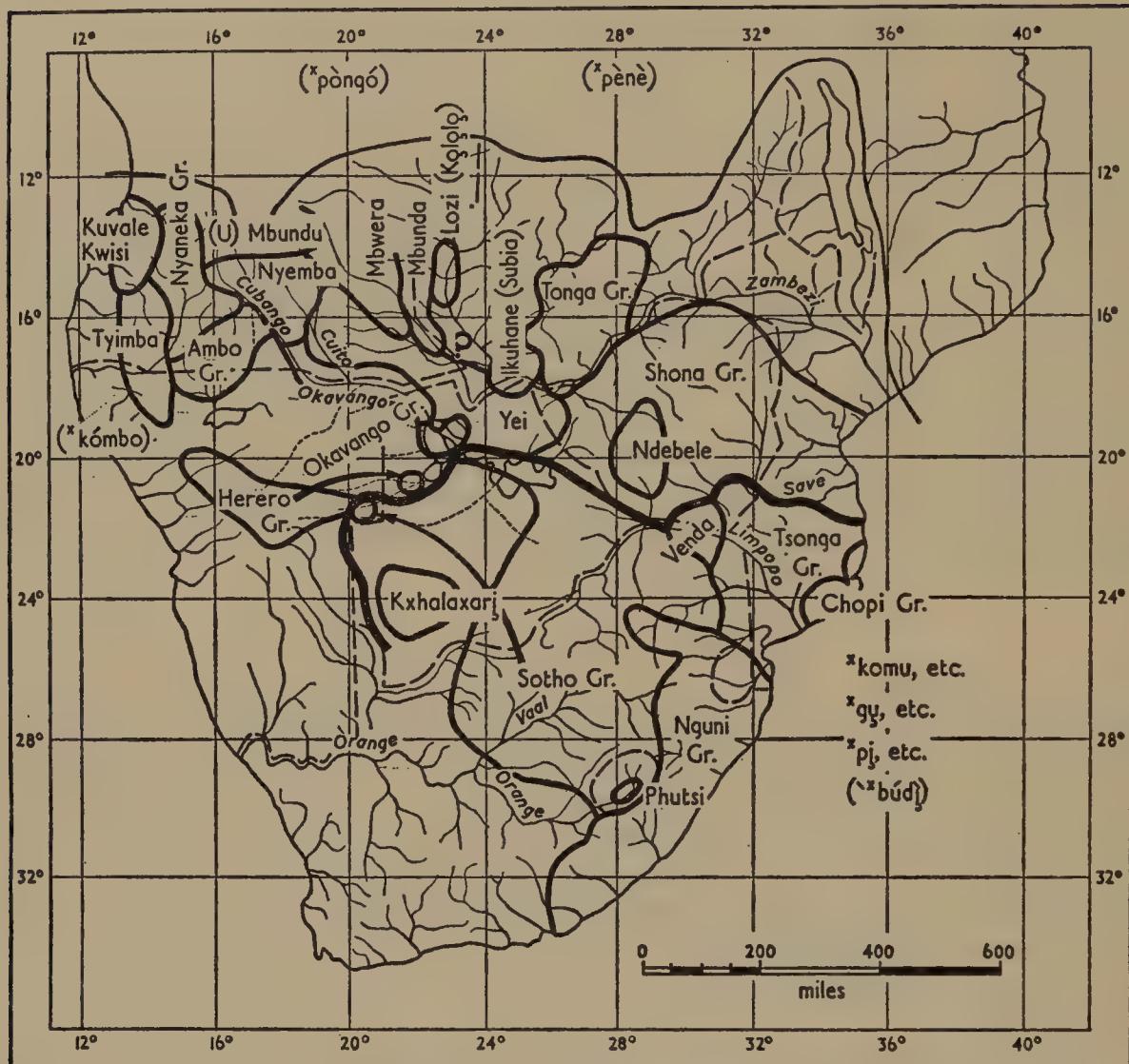
Strictly linguistic material is too specialized and too voluminous to present in a short paper concerned with linguistic conclusions rather than the linguistic evidence itself. I propose to present what is essentially the outcome of detailed linguistic studies and only to illustrate some linguistic problems where necessary. An outline of the Bantu linguistic groupings is first presented. This will be followed by Bush, Kwadi and, finally, Hottentot groupings. The historical limits of Bantu, based on evidence from folklore, will then provide the framework for a cartographical statement of the earliest distribution of the non-Bantu languages that technical linguistic information will permit.

1. *The Bantu Languages (Map 1)*

Our knowledge of present-day Bantu languages is adequate but not equally advanced in all areas. On the eastern side many of the languages have been described and classified according to modern principles, although much dialect study still requires to be done. On the western side much of our documented information is still from the last century. Our knowledge of the Bantu languages in general and of the dialects of the established groups permits us to classify the languages of the Southern Bantu Frontier as follows:

Nguni Group (including: Nreßele, Swati, Mbayi, Phutshi, Bhaca, Pondo, Xhosa, Zulu, Ndebele as the main dialects).

Sotho Group (including: Suthu [and Tlokwa], Kuytswi, Pylana, Nari, Lußely, Pelj, Dogwa, Xananwa, Bırwa [?], Ngwatu (and Tawana), Kwęna, Kxhatla [and Khatla], Rolong, Tlhaping, Tlharu, Lozi [or Kololq or Rotsi]). N.B. There is no dialect which describes itself as Tswana and the grouping of the Western dialects as Tswana is not acceptable to the author. There is similarly no valid Northern or Pedi Group, this category being one of convenience with no linguistic basis. Lozi of Barotseland is partly derived from Suthu and dialects in Bechuanaland, but



MAP 1. The Bantu languages. For explanation see text.

there is no adequate modern information on this language and its linguistic relationship to other languages of the Sotho Group cannot yet be stated. Lozi and Ngwatu speakers understand each other quite easily. There is no adequate information on Bırwa and its position between Xananwa, Ngwatu, and Lilima (of the Shona Group) is not known.

Tsonga Group (including: Ronga [and] Konde [?], Tsonga [or Gwamba], Jonga, Hlanganu, Nwalungu, Bila, Hlengwe, Tswa). N.B. Doke¹ classifies these according to their literary sections into (a) Ronga, (b) Tonga (i.e. Tsonga), and (c) Tswa, but it is not known whether this classification has any linguistic validity. Quintão² does not differentiate Hlengwe and Tswa.

Chopi Group (including: Tshopi, (gi)Tonga).

¹ C. M. Doke, *The Southern Bantu Languages*, O.U.P. for IAI, 1954.

² José Luís Quintão, *Gramática de Xironga*, Agência Geral das Colónias, Lisboa, 1951.

Shona Group (including six sub-groups, themselves consisting of many dialectal forms: Eastern or Manyika Cluster, Northern or Korekore Cluster, Central or Zezuru Dialects, Southern or Karanga Cluster, Western or Kalanga Dialects, South-Eastern or Ndau Dialects). These are classified by Doke¹ on the basis of their phonology and their grammar, but it is not known whether this classification will be upheld by a comparison of their vocabularies. Some dialects suggest that a study of the lexical sources of the general Shona vocabulary would be most rewarding.

Yei Language, a single language whose origin is in the north on the Zambezi but whose affiliation to the unclassified and as yet little-known dialects of Barotseland and Angola has not yet been satisfactorily determined.

Venda Language, a single language spoken on both sides of the Limpopo with relationships to Karanga, Lußelj, Pejj, and Tshopi. It numbers the Lemba amongst its speakers and items in its vocabulary suggest that some of the speakers were from areas around the northern end of Lake Nyasa.

Okavango Group (including: Mbukushu, Gciriku [or Mbogedo], Kwangari [and Sambyu]). Possibly Nyemba may be associated with this group but this has not yet been tested.

Ambo Group (including: Kwanyama, Ndonga, Kwambi, Ngandyera, Kwaluthi [Kwaluthi], Nkolonkaji [Nkolonkadhi], Mbalantu, Kwamatwi). N.B. It is established that the eastern Ovamboland dialects (Kwanyama and Ndonga) are distinct but little information is as yet available on the affiliations of the western dialects to these or any other sections.

Nyaneka Group (including: Nyaneka, Nhkumbi).

Herero Group (including: Herero [and Mbandyeru], Tyimba, and, perhaps Kuvale [?] and Kwisi [?] of Angola).

*Tonga Group*² (including: Northern, Central, and Southern Valley Tonga, Eastern and Western Plateau Tonga, Toka, Ila, Sala, Soli, Lenje).

Ikuhane Group (including: Ikuhane or S. Subia, Subia, Totela [?]).

(U) *Mbundu Language* whose dialects, if any, have not been described linguistically.

There are several languages in the south-east of Angola and in the south-west of Barotseland whose groupings have not yet been satisfactorily determined. In some cases these languages are at present still being studied and in other cases, although they have been recorded and identified, their affiliations have not yet been ascertained. These languages include Nyemba (probably the language generally described by Portuguese writers as Ganguella), Mbwera, Mbunda, Masi. The area is a crucial one, but no detailed dialect surveys with adequate linguistic documentation are known to the author. Languages of Zones R, K, M, and N lie close to each other on the Southern Bantu Frontier along the Okavango, Kwito, and Chobe rivers in this area.

The heavy lines on Map 1 show the areas containing what are presumed to be Hottentot words for cattle/sheep/milk. The words themselves are discussed below in the text.

¹ Doke, loc. cit.

for the grouping and a map illustrating the language area.

² I am indebted to Mrs. H. Carter of S.O.A.S.

2. *The Non-Bantu Languages*

Our knowledge of the non-Bantu languages of Southern Africa is still very restricted and published material is so fragmentary that comparative work cannot be based on it with any confidence. The basis for the present paper is manuscript material collected in the field in 1961. This material consists of the following:

- (i) about 500 items of vocabulary in each of 15 languages;
- (ii) lists of affixes employed in gender and number formations in both nominals and verbals;
- (iii) notes on the behaviour of words in sentences;
- (iv) notes on the phonological repertoire of each language.

The manuscript material is too voluminous to present here and, since it is specialized, is also not relevant to our present purpose—which is to ascertain how much can be said about early language distributions and, perhaps, about peoples speaking these languages. Some of the linguistic material has been presented in a paper on the distribution of the non-Bantu languages¹ and in a paper on the linguistic criteria employed in classifying² them. The following introductory remarks will serve to clear away some misconceptions:

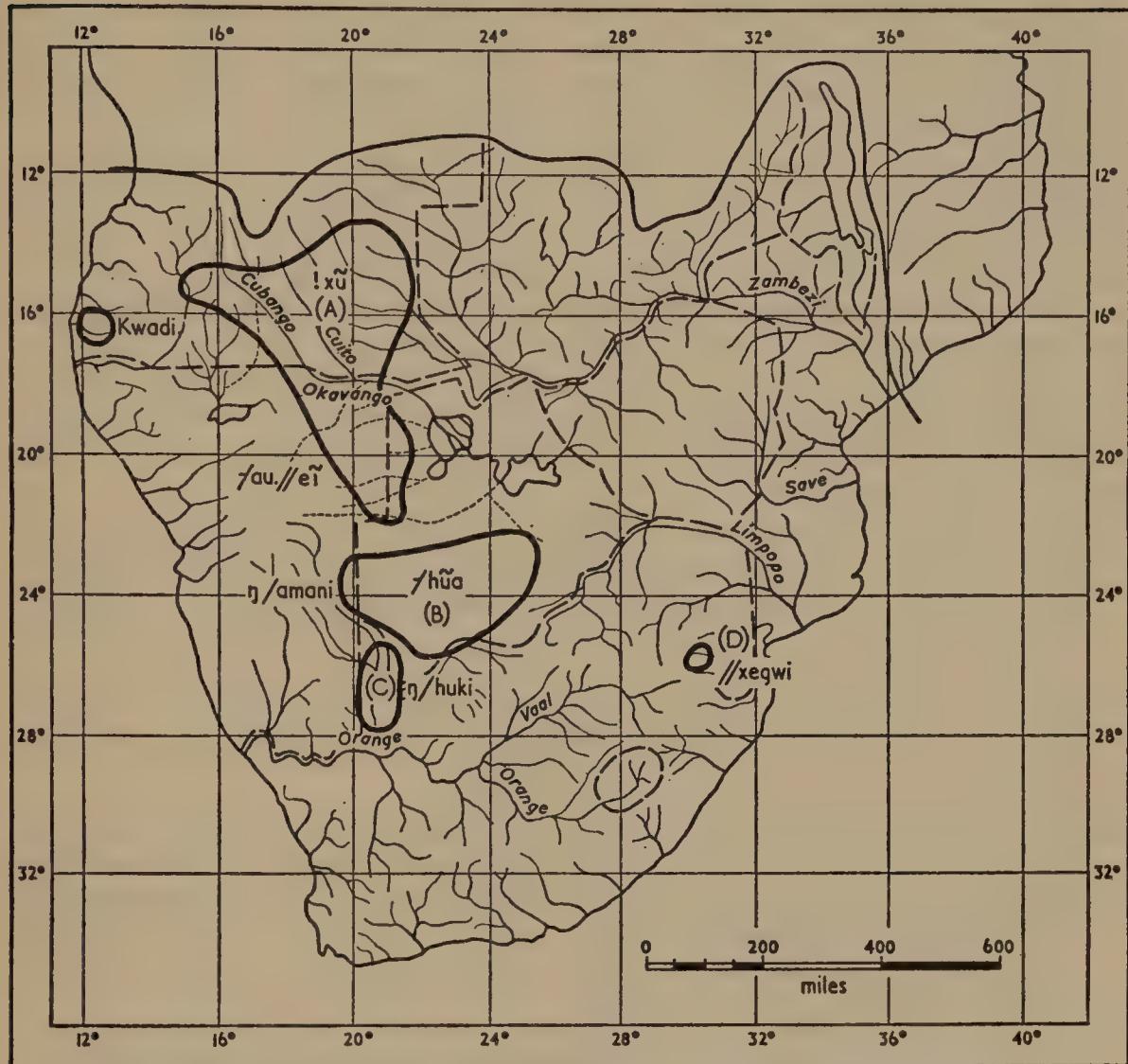
(a) Clicks as such have no positive classificatory value. We can as little speak of a Click family of languages as we can of a Fricative or Aspirated-Plosive family of languages. Clicks, like fricatives and aspirated plosives, are a type of speech sound and do not signify genetic relationship in the total absence of any evidence for lexical or grammatical relationship. On the other hand, the occurrence of speech sounds—including clicks—in language areas and in speech-sound systems in which they do not otherwise occur may be an indication of contact areas which, from a linguistic point of view, I should prefer to term ‘phonation’ areas. The general absence of clicks in Common Bantu or Ur-Bantu systems permits us to state that Bantu languages in which they do occur have come under the influence of, or have had contact with, languages in which they regularly occur.

(b) With the exception of Sandawe and Hadza in Tanganyika, clicks are confined to our Southern African area. Recently available tape and manuscript material—fragmentary though it be—does not hold out any promise of our being able to associate these languages with any of our Southern African click languages by regular and generally accepted linguistic procedures.

(c) The Bantu languages with clicks are the following, with the number of positional types in each indicated in brackets: Xhosa (3), Zulu (3), Swati (1), Ndebele (3), Suthu (1), Yei (4), Kwangari, Gciriku, Mbukushu (2, but perhaps more). The source of the clicks is Hottentot in Xhosa and Yei and perhaps in the Okavango Group. In Suthu the source appears to be the //xegwi Bush language, which itself contains many Suthu words in an area which is today entirely Nguni. In Zulu the source could be either Bush or Hottentot or both. Hlonipha, i.e. avoidance, terms have done much to increase the vocabulary containing click sounds.

¹ E. O. J. Westphal, ‘A Re-classification of Southern African non-Bantu Languages’, *J.A.L.* i. 1, 1962.

² E. O. J. Westphal, ‘On Classifying Bushman and Hottentot Languages’, *A.L.S.* iii, 1962.



MAP 2. The Bush 'A', 'B', 'C', and 'D' languages and Kwadi. For explanation see text.

(d) The term 'Khoisan' is of no linguistic usefulness whatever. The expression 'Khoisan languages' is sometimes made to mean 'non-Bantu languages', but it is more direct to say 'non-Bantu' if this meaning is intended. The term 'Click languages' is yet another synonym for non-Bantu.

(e) There is no 'Bushman family' of languages. 'Bushman', I think, denotes a way of life, and is not a linguistic term. Nevertheless the term has been retained in a modified form for practical reasons to mean non-Hottentot, non-Bantu, and non-Kwadi language families. Thus the Bush 'A' language family is distinguished from the Bush 'B' language family, &c.

3. The Bush 'A', 'B', 'C', and 'D' languages (Map 2)

As indicated above, a good deal of confusion has arisen through the attempt to apply ethnological, physical-anthropological, and economic criteria in linguistic

classifications. Dorothea Bleek^{1,2} described the Naron and Hiechware of Dornan's³ description as 'Central Bushmen'. Others have followed her in this. The Nharo (Naron), G/wi, Buka, and others are perhaps validly described as Bushmen from an ethnographical point of view, but linguistically they are Hottentot-speaking.

In Southern Africa there are four unrelated Bush language-types. In some of these there are a few words which appear to be similar, but both the small number of these words and the fact that up to the present no method for comparing these similarities has revealed itself, suggest that there is no genetic relationship between them. Certainly no sound-shifts between one language type and another can be derived from the comparison of such superficially similar words, although it cannot be denied that our inability to compare Bush words could conceivably be dictated by the nature of our accepted linguistic procedures. The four Bush language types—to which I have recently added //xegwi, hitherto known as Batwa of Lake Chrissie in the Eastern Transvaal—are as follows:

Bush 'A' or /xū, hitherto known as Kung, /Kung, /o-/Kung, Auen, &c., in the North-western Kalahari in Bechuanaland and SWA and in Southern Angola, with the following dialects: (a) /xū of SWA and Bechuanaland as the central dialect which includes au//eī (Auen, Macoco, Makoko, &c.) of Ghanzi, and (b) /xū of Angola consisting of a variety of dialects genetically related to SWA /xū, but affected in varying degrees by neighbouring Bantu languages, as far as can be judged from the sample tape-recorded vocabularies collected by Professor António de Almeida and analysed by us in Lisbon in 1956.

Bush 'B' or ≠hūa, hitherto known as Magong, /xō, /xōŋ, &c., in the Southern Kalahari in Bechuanaland and SWA, with the following dialects: (a) ≠hūa in Bechuanaland, and (b) ŋ/amani south of the Aminuis Reserve in SWA, in the Gemsbok Park in South Africa, and, perhaps, in adjacent areas of Bechuanaland. Possibly Bleek's /auni and 'Kakia', speakers of which I did not find, belong to this section.

Bush 'C' or ŋ/huki, in the Cape including the Gemsbok Park. ŋ/huki was the only dialect I found of what must have been a larger group including Doke's ≠khomani, recorded twenty-five years ago in the same place where I later found only ŋ/huki, and Bleek's //n-/ke or, in my orthography, ŋ/-≠e. An examination of Bleek's material will reveal that //n-/ke means 'people' which is the meaning of the ŋ/huki word ŋ/-≠e. There is a high degree of correspondence between //n-/ke and ŋ/huki vocabularies and there is no doubt that these are of the same group and family. It is possible that language names with the ending -ni show the presence of Hottentot influence in the Gemsbok Park area where such languages occur, viz. ≠khomani, ŋ/amani, /auni. ŋ/huki informants suggested something like this when they said they had not heard of ≠khomani but thought it might be a Hottentot word similar to 'ŋ/amani'.

Bush 'D' or //xegwi, hitherto known as Batwa and, in Swati, as emaNkqeshe or emaNgqwigqwi,⁴ at Lake Chrissie in the Eastern Transvaal. Hitherto I had classi-

¹ D. F. Bleek, *Comparative Vocabularies of Bushman Languages*, C.U.P., 1929.

² D. F. Bleek, *A Bushman Dictionary*, American Oriental Society, New Haven, 1956.

³ S. S. Dornan, 'The Tati Bushmen (Masarwas)

and their Language', *J.R.A.I.* xlvi, 1917.

⁴ D. Ziervogel, *Notes on the Language of the Eastern Transvaal Bushmen*, pp. 35-64, and E. F. Potgieter, *The Disappearing Bushmen of Lake Chrissie*, J. L. van Schaik, Pretoria, 1955.

fied this language with Bush 'C', following Lanham and Hallowes,¹ but the material obtained in December 1962 at Lake Chrissie warrants a separate classification for //xegwi. //xegwi is today entirely surrounded by Nguni languages and it is therefore surprising to find many Suthu words in it. This I take to be evidence for a pre-Nguni Suthu occupation of this area and much of Northern Natal. There is internal linguistic evidence for this occupation, and evidence from various historical traditions of the Sotho Group shows that a far-reaching emigration took place from this area. Moshoeshoe, in wrongly claiming Transkeian lands up to the sea, was perhaps rightly quoting tradition when he said that his lands once reached the sea.

It will be useful for the general reader to have an illustration of the type of linguistic problem involved in classifying the Bush languages. It is sufficient for our present purposes to consider the lexical material including the pre-verbal pronouns. Generally there is no correspondence in the vocabulary but sometimes there are tantalizing similarities. For a linguist such similarities are not enough and they do not constitute evidence for genetic relationship or any other kind of relationship. Here follows an example of this type of similarity:

| | | |
|------|---|-------------------|
| body | A | (amma pl. ammasi) |
| | B | ◎āha pl. ◎āhani |
| | C | ◎ocha pl. ◎ochan |
| | D | ◎wi pl. ◎wi |

In this list the /xū word 'amma' has no connexion with any of the other words, but these look as if they might contain a common element ◎u- (◎u-, ◎o-, ◎w-). However, there is no internal evidence in any of the languages for the detachment of affixes -ha, -cha, and -i. The word for 'eye' poses similar problems:

| | | |
|-----|---|--|
| eye | A | g/a pl. g/asi |
| | B | y!un pl. y!wani !ui pl. !uwate (in y!amani) |
| | C | ts'axam pl. ts'axamni |
| | D | tsagu pl. tsay |

Here /xū is clearly isolated again. In 'B' there are two forms which can be shown to be genetically related, nasalization and the close relationship of -u- and -w- providing the link. In C and D there seems to be a common element *tsa-*. In D the affix -gu, which alternates with -y in the plural, can be isolated, but there are no grounds for such a separation in C unless we can show that -xam is either an affix or a separable or self-standing word. However, it turns out after an extensive search that in D -gu occurs in one other word only, viz. *saagu* pl. *saagu*, chest, and is therefore not isolable. These and similar considerations indicate some of the technical difficulties with which a linguist is confronted and which prevent him from too readily accepting genetic relationship. Although such similar pairs in C and D are not very numerous, we may eventually be able to state a relationship by means of regular sound-shifts. Lanham and Hallowes have pointed to one such valid correspondence which, at the

¹ L. W. Lanham and D. P. Hallowes, 'An Outline of the Structure of Eastern Bushman', *A.S.* xv, 1956

present stage, must still be regarded as an isolated exception, viz. the correspondence of *tt'*— in D to ≠— in C. Here follow some carefully selected further examples of similarities, and some in which there is clearly no similarity:

| | | | |
|---------------|---|---------------|--------------------------------------|
| <i>man</i> | A <i>lhōa</i> pl. <i>y//hae</i> | <i>father</i> | A <i>ba</i> |
| | B <i>la'a</i> pl. <i>y.//xaa</i> | | B <i>a'a</i> or <i>'a</i> |
| | <i>ta'a</i> pl. <i>ta'aa.tu</i> (in <i>y/amani</i>) | | C <i>anci</i> |
| C | ≠ <i>o</i> pl. <i>cukwe</i> | | D <i>'aa</i> |
| D | <i>tt'oo</i> pl. <i>tuy</i> | <i>fire</i> | A <i>dhaa</i> |
| <i>woman</i> | A <i>tshqu</i> pl. <i>tshausi</i> | | B <i>'ā</i> |
| | B <i>la.q"ae</i> pl. (<i>y</i>) <i>/a'a</i> | | C <i>'i</i> |
| | <i>ta.q"ae</i> pl. <i>'an</i> or <i>taq"ae.tu</i> (in <i>y</i>) | | D <i>'i</i> |
| C | <i>je ki</i> pl. <i>/aq"ei</i> | <i>ashes</i> | A <i>t'oo</i> |
| D | <i>G"qi</i> pl. <i>Gay</i> | | B <i>g≠oa; tshau</i> (in <i>y</i>) |
| <i>child</i> | A <i>dama</i> pl. <i>dibi</i> | | C <i>!x"ūi'</i> |
| | B <i>◎wa'a</i> pl. <i>◎wa'ani</i> | <i>sun</i> | D <i>'i.txa</i> |
| | <i>◎a'a</i> pl. <i>◎wa'a.tu</i> (in <i>y</i>) | | A <i>/am</i> |
| C | <i>/uβa</i> pl. <i>/weke</i> | | B <i>//'an</i> |
| D | <i>//'ele'e</i> pl. <i>tt'oy</i> | | C <i>//'ui</i> |
| <i>mother</i> | A <i>tae</i> | | D <i>//umi</i> |
| | B <i>q"ae</i> | <i>moon</i> | A <i>y!wi</i> |
| C | <i>xanci</i> | | B <i>!han; taa.tu</i> (in <i>y</i>) |
| D | <i>xwa</i> | | C <i>≠'olo</i> |
| | | | D <i>tt'olo</i> |

There appear to be similarities in the pronominal systems, but in the absence of other confirmatory evidence these cannot be regarded as clear evidence, except perhaps in the case of C and D:

| | I | thou | he/she | we | you | they | |
|---|-----------|-----------|--------------|--|-------------|-------------|------------------|
| A | <i>mi</i> | <i>a</i> | <i>ha</i> | <i>e</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>si</i> | (Indefinite Pl.) |
| | | | | <i>etsa</i> | <i>itsa</i> | <i>ssha</i> | (Dual) |
| | | | | <i>e/a</i> | <i>ila</i> | <i>sila</i> | (Definite Pl.) |
| | | | | <i>yhi, ka, te</i> (General and Narrative link-pronouns) | | | |
| B | <i>n</i> | <i>a</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>si</i> | <i>/u</i> | <i>u</i> | |
| C | <i>y</i> | <i>a</i> | <i>ku</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>u</i> | <i>kin</i> | |
| D | <i>'y</i> | <i>'a</i> | <i>a, ha</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>'u</i> | <i>hy</i> | |

In */xū* (A) there are compounded Dual and Plural forms in addition to the indefinite or general plural. These Dual and Plural forms are lacking in the other languages. This fact clearly divides */xū* from the other systems quoted. The plural forms of *≠hūa* (B) divide off this system from the others, although, since pluralization is a somewhat elastic concept in any of these languages, this may eventually prove to be no very serious division. In C and D, except for the 3rd P.S., there seems to be a possibility of comparing the two systems.

Despite the similarities revealed above, the general import of the comparison is that a knowledge of one language does not enable a student of these languages to learn to speak any of the others easily.

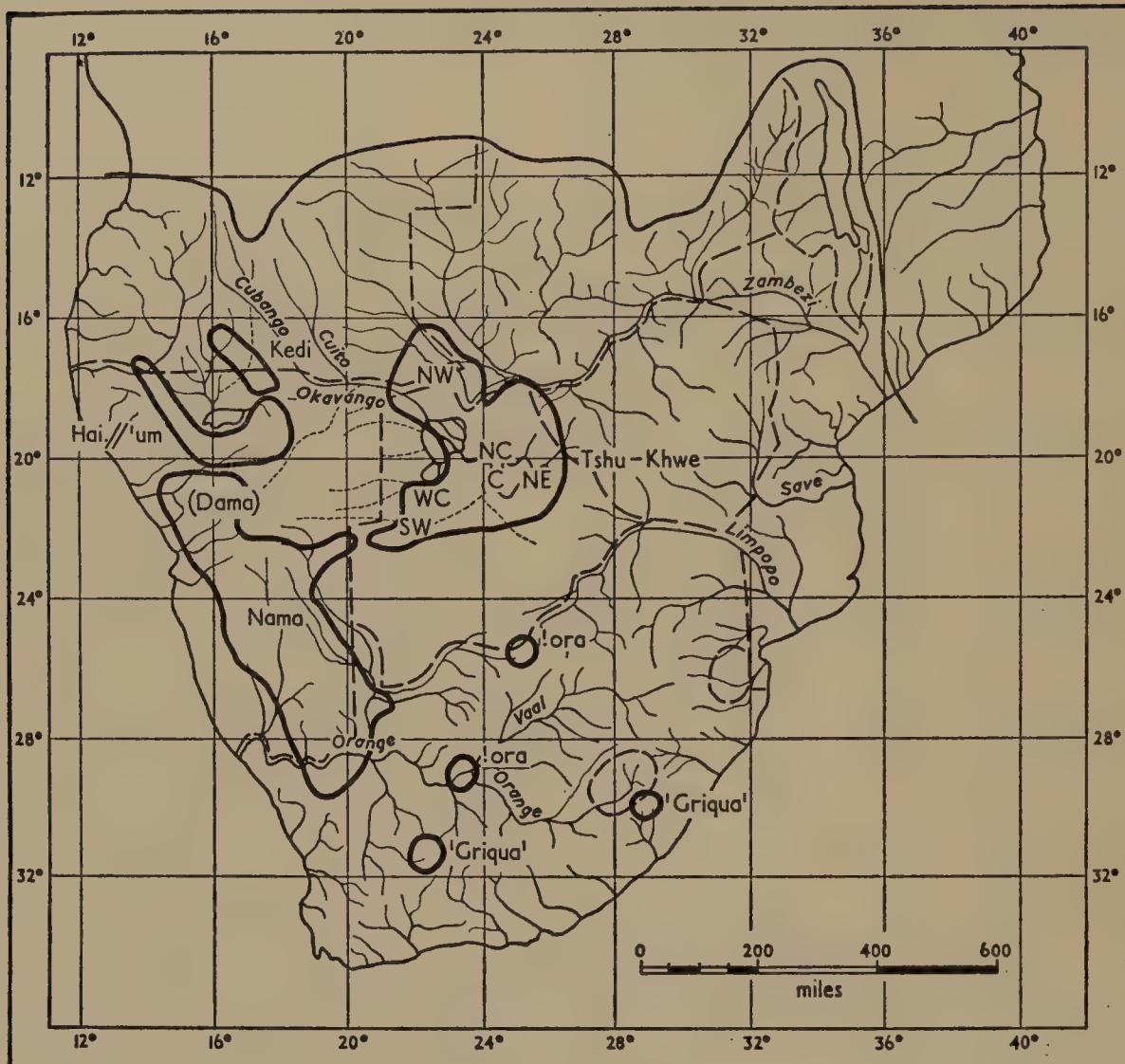
4. *The Kwadi Language* (see Map 2)

An entirely new language type, Kwadi of the Mossamedes area in Angola, was added to those already known in Southern Africa. Known by a variety of names (Cuepe, Cuanhoca, Curoca), it was first recognized as a new language type by Professor António de Almeida. His tape-recordings of a specimen vocabulary were analysed by us in a joint study in Lisbon in 1956. Although this language employs clicks, it differs from any of the others and from Bantu in its vocabulary, in the nominal suffix system which is, however, similar in type to Hottentot, in grammar generally, and, particularly, in its formation of verbo-nominals (infinitives) with an infix *-la-*. Together with Bush D and adjacent Bantu languages, and together with Hadza and other East African languages, it employs interesting lateral and velar fricative and affricate sounds. In Angola and SWA these sounds do not occur in any other Bantu or Hottentot language. This fact, together with the restricted occurrence of clicks in Southern Africa and East Africa mentioned above, may incline linguists and other investigators not to be too despondent, but up to the present all linguistic attempts at linking Kwadi with any other language in Africa have been entirely negative. An interesting fact is that the Kwadi-speakers seen by Professor de Almeida do not resemble any Bush- or Hottentot-speaking peoples other than the Dama. They resemble the Tyimba Herero and the neighbouring Kwisi in their dress and stock-breeding habits and in their physique and skin-colouring. Padre Carlos Estermann¹ describes these people, and the Bantu-speaking Kwisi, in detail, although he classifies the Kwadi linguistically as 'Khoisan', meaning thereby Hottentot.

The Kwisi, who speak the neighbouring Kuvale Bantu language, are themselves a remarkable people according to Estermann's and de Almeida's descriptions. Estermann groups them ethnologically as 'Va-twa' and he claims that they have forgotten their original language. This, when taken together with the statement that they are not Bantu because they live by hunting and collecting, gives us the impression that their 'original language' was not a Bantu language. However, it is possible that they might have spoken a primitive Bantu language and that they knew nothing of agriculture, which was introduced to them by the Kuvale. Further investigation will perhaps reveal whether their language was a primitive Bantu, a dialect of Kwadi, or neither.

Estermann links Kwisi (Cuissi), Kuvale (Cuvale), Tyimba (Chimba), Dimba, Himba, and Tyavikwa (Chavicua), as languages. Although my information on Kuvale is scant, I would tentatively accept the implication of this association, which is that Herero belongs to this group of languages rather than to Ambo. On the other hand both Herero and Kuvale may have to be grouped with Nyaneka-Nhkumbi in a larger language group, a grouping for which Nhkumbi itself, adjacent to Herero-Tyimba, gives little support. If further investigation supports the linking of Kuvale and Herero and of Kuvale-Kwisi and Herero-Tyimba, there could be significant linguistic

¹ Padre Carlos Estermann, *Etnografia do Sudoeste de Angola*, Junta de Investigações do Ultramar, Lisboa, 1960.



MAP 3. The Hottentot languages. For explanation see text.

support for Estermann's isolation of a 'Va-twa' people in Angola, whose language may have been either a primitive Bantu, or Kwadi, or yet another type.

5. The Hottentot Languages (Map 3)

Until recently Hottentot was considered to consist of the following languages only:

- (a) Nama and Dama, and, sometimes, Hai-//um.
- (b) !ora (known as Korana).
- (c) 'Griqua' (pronounced Xrikwa or even Xirikwa by /ora speakers).

There is no adequate documentation for 'Griqua' other than the few notes by Beach¹ and Meinhof.² Both authorities testify that present differences were very

¹ D. M. Beach, *The Phonetics of the Hottentot Language*, Cambridge, Heffer and Sons, 1938.

² C. Meinhof, 'Hottentottische Laute und Lehnwörter im Kafir', *Z.D.M.G.* lviii and lix, 1905.

small, and it is probable that both */ora* and 'Griqua' were part of a more widespread Cape Hottentot. Although there are some slight differences between Nama and */ora*, these differences do not suggest that any other than a single proto-Hottentot language source was involved in the history of these languages. Hottentot, as hitherto conceived, was a remarkably homogeneous language with no important variants even though it was spoken over a very wide area, from the Natal-Transkei border to the borders of Angola, by a comparatively numerous people:

Nama 30,000; Dama 36,000; */ora* (few, 30?); 'Griqua' (few, isolated individuals); Hai-*//um* 3,000-5,000; Kedi 500-1,000 (?).

Even though Beach¹ noted that Hai-*//um* was a Hottentot language, later writers have persisted in grouping it as a Bushman language, we know not on what information. There is still very little information on both Hai-*//um* and Kedi, but had even this much been available, it would have been seen that these languages are derivative dialects of Nama and differ somewhat from classical or Cape Hottentot.

Recently a very strongly divergent group of Hottentot dialects has been added to the above recognized languages. I have named this the Tshu-Khwe Hottentot group, hitherto known as SeSarwa or the language of the MaSarwa of Bechuana-land, or, in Dorothea Bleek's classification,² as 'Central Bushman'. Bleek's classification could not be upheld and was first ignored by Greenberg, who correctly groups Bleek's 'Central Bushman' with Nama and */ora* (map facing p. 116), although he regards all the Hottentot languages as the Central Group of his 'Click Language Family' (No. 7 on his map). Authors writing after Greenberg³ persist in grouping Naron, G/wikhwe, Buka (known as River Bushman), Xukhwe, and other Tshu-Khwe-speaking peoples with Bush-speaking peoples, in the mistaken belief that linguists can support this.

Estimates of the numbers of Tshu-Khwe Hottentots are varied and of unequal value: 9,000-15,000 (in Bamangwato territories); 3,000 (in Ngamiland); 200 (in Crown Lands); 3,000 (in Ghanzi district); 3,000-5,000 (in the Central Kalahari Game Reserve).

These figures are based on official and unofficial estimates, and fluctuations in the estimates may be partly due to seasonal migrations and partly due to the difficulty of contacting people in this difficult terrain. Combining the previously mentioned 69,500-72,000 Hottentots with the 18,000-26,000 Tshu-Khwe, we get a grand total of between 87,000 and 98,000 Hottentot-speakers in southern Africa.

The following is a highly tentative linguistic grouping of the newly added Tshu-Khwe Hottentots and is not intended to be authoritative in any way:

(N.B. Names marked by an asterisk were not examined linguistically or were not contacted at all by the author).

NW: Xū (known variously as Mbarakwengo, Kwengo, VaKwengo, Zama, VaZama, Schekere, Hukwe, and Hukwe Bushman), Buka (known as River Bushman), *Gumahi, and Handá. Xū includes *G/anda said to be the same language. Groups east of the Kwando river in Barotseland probably also belong to this section.

¹ Loc. cit.

² Bleek, 1929 and 1956.

³ J. Greenberg, 'Studies in African Linguistic Classification', *S.W. Journal of Anthropology*, 1955.

NC: Shua, Danisin (also known as Madenassa, Madanisi, &c.), G//oro, and probably the languages of smaller groups said to be in the area, viz. *N/hoo, *//aise, *Tshiti. North-western Handá was originally of this group according to their history and according to linguistic evidence.

NE: G//abake (Hiechware, Hio-tshuare), Koßee, Kwee, *Ganáde, and a dialect in the Wankie area of Southern Rhodesia.

C: Deti (known as Tete, Tletle, &c.) along the Botletle river. This language appears to be considerably influenced by Nambzya, the Bantu language of the Shona fugitives from Mzilikazi's Matebeleland. No other groups speaking this dialect have as yet been identified.

WC: N/hai-(n)ts'e, a dialect associated with the south-western group but showing some relationship with /xu or Bush-A.

SW: Nharo (Naron, Naro, /aikwe?) and perhaps *G/wi and *G//ana of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve. G/wi is certainly a Tshu-Khwe Hottentot language as illustrated by a few fragments of the language collected from an isolated speaker south of the CKGR and partly confirmed by G. Silberbauer:¹ *khwema* (man), *khwena* (people), *g//awa* (demon, spirit; S.: *G//awama*), *ŋ!qdi* (God; S.: *N!odima*), */xo* (gemsbok; S.: */xon!adima*, gemsbok hoof), *xam* (lion).

Many other groups or bands are mentioned locally or in the literature on this area, but either they could not be identified in the field or their locality could not be ascertained. These are, for example, Tsau-khwe, Tsere-khwe, Mahura, Mohissa, /aise, //oree, Koro-kwa, Tshuma, //aiye, Masasi, G//am, Didi, Badza, Dzhika, &c. Often these terms which are apparently group or band names turn out to be place names and in combination with -khwe or -khwena merely mean 'the people of such-and-such a place'.

6. Interrelationships of the Hottentot languages and areas

(a) Nama and Dama are identical in the urban centres, although a slightly divergent dialect is said to be spoken in the north-western part of their common area. The traditional Nama areas were south of Windhoek, while the traditional Dama area is north-west of Windhoek. There is no linguistic reason for not accepting the obvious implication that the Nama moved northwards into Dama areas to form the present Nama-Dama entity. The impetus of this movement carried Nama speakers into the present Hai-//um and Kedi areas as far north as Otchinjau and Mupa in Angola. Tape recordings of Hai-//um made at Otchinjau by de Almeida indicate that it is a fragmented Nama, and similar recordings of Kedi made by him at Mupa indicate that this is also true for Kedi.

(b) A Hottentot dialect derived from Nama is spoken by people living in the Gemsbok Park. They are locally regarded as Bushmen, but there were only three Bush-speakers there at the time I visited the area, all the rest being speakers of the Nama dialect. ≠khomani recorded by Doke² and others in this area is unquestionably

¹ G. Silberbauer, 'Marriage and the Girl's Puberty Ceremony of the G/wi Bushmen', *Africa*, xxxiii. 1, 1963.

² C. M. Doke, 'An Outline of ≠khomani Bushman Phonetics', *B.S.* x, 1936.

a Bush language, but none of the three Bush-speakers claimed to have any knowledge of this language. As the Witwatersrand expedition recorded seeing nearly a hundred Bushmen at Tweerivieren some twenty-five years ago, it looks as if Nama has supplanted any Bush languages there were since then.

(c) Nama has also affected the south-western Tshu-Khwe Hottentot dialects. Nama Hottentots moved into this area from Gobabis in the last century. The Danisin of the north-central Tshu-Khwe, whose traditions state that they came from the south, show traces of south-western Tshu-Khwe and Nama contact.

(d) 'Griqua', apart from phonetical differences presumably stemming from its contact with Bantu languages, appears to be identical with */ora*. The term appears to come from the Eastern Transkei, where shipwrecked sailors encountered the Magrigas or Malighrygas in 1686 and where Xhosa tradition today gives evidence for a people, the Riligwa (i.e. *yiligwa*), these being of Hottentot origin. Certainly Griquas (i.e. *Xri-* or *Xiri-kwa*) were still speaking this language at Kokstad until recently, and Adam Kok, the Hottentot leader, left with his people from this area, crossing the Drakensberg into the OFS and Cape area known as Griqualand West. Corporal J. Cruse¹ mentions a group, the Gly, in this general area in 1668, whom he appears to distinguish from the Bly or Bry or Briqua (also rendered as Briequa, Bricqua, Birina, &c. by other early writers). At any rate the Griquas come from an area of contact with Bantu, for going westwards along the coast we soon encounter such peoples as the Gonaqua, Hoengequa, Damasonqua, Damaqua, &c.² The term 'Griqua' must therefore not be regarded as a general name for speakers of a dialect distinct from */ora*, but merely as the name of one group that spoke what must have been a general Cape Hottentot dialect. Remnants of Adam Kok's Griquas speaking what they themselves described as Griqua until recently lived in places like de Aar and Kimberley, and many of them made their way into SWA.

(e) Our linguistic evidence, supported by historical evidence, is that there are three Hottentot dialect areas, viz. (1) Cape Hottentot, including the surviving */ora* and 'Griqua', (2) the closely linked Nama of SWA with its dialectal derivatives, and (3) Tshu-Khwe Hottentot of Bechuanaland. A common centre of dispersal for Nama and Cape Hottentot could have been in the general area between and south of Prieska and Upington, the Nama moving north-west and the proto-Cape Hottentots moving north-east, south-east, and south from this centre. Tshu-Khwe and especially the north-east group of dialects appear to be more closely linked with */ora* and Cape Hottentot than with Nama. Professor L. Maingard, who specialized in */ora*, and who visited the G//ana-khwe Hottentots (described as Bushmen) with the Marshall Expedition in 1955, had also formed this opinion in the course of his studies. A common centre of dispersal for proto-Cape Hottentot and Tshu-Khwe would therefore have to be hypothesized. Since there is no suggestion that the Tshu-Khwe have moved or are very mobile, relatively speaking, this centre would have to be closer to the Tshu-Khwe than to the Cape Hottentots, and North-eastern Bechuanaland-North-western Transvaal-South-western Rhodesia seems to be a likely area.

¹ See L. F. Maingard, 'The Lost Tribes of the Cape', *S.A.J.S.* xxviii, 1931. ² *South West Africa*, Cape Town, 1928: see H. Vedder, 'The Nama', p. 112.

² Hahn, Fourie, and Vedder, *The Native Tribes of*

(f) Vedder¹ holds that the Hottentots moved from the Kunene river to the Cape, an opinion with which I cannot agree.

7. *Interrelationships of the Bush languages*

As stated above, linguistic procedure prevents us from associating any of the four Bush languages genetically with each other until we can state the relationships in terms of regular sound-shifts. There is a suggestion that, with a greater knowledge of the phonology of these languages, a group of similar words in 'C' and 'D' could be examined for this purpose. In the meantime, bearing in mind the great number of differences, we speak of contact and borrowing. There is some borrowing between 'B' and 'C', particularly in the *ŋ/amanī* dialect. 'A' is completely isolated geographically and linguistically from the others, and 'D' has some evidence of a contact with 'C'. These circumstances do not enable us to infer anything about the linguistic prehistory of Bush languages, and we must rely on historical documents and the lists of Bush words they contain.

8. *Hottentot-Bush relationships*

Since the Cape and SWA Hottentots were stockbreeders, it can be assumed that they had the same relationships with Bushmen generally as the later Bantu and European stockmen had. But, more recently, relationships between these groups were harmonious.

Not all Hottentot speakers are stockbreeders and this traditional economic criterion for differentiating Bushmen and Hottentots is not acceptable in the case of the Tshu-Khwe Hottentots. The *Hai-//'um* and the *Kedi* are not generally stockbreeders either, although they do not fall into our Tshu-Khwe language group. Cattle, horses, donkeys, and goats are sometimes kept by the *Shua-khwe* and by the *Xū-khwe* and perhaps by other Tshu-Khwe and Bush peoples, but this is by no means general and traditional amongst these peoples, who are hunters and gatherers of berries, fruit, nuts, grass-seed, water-lily roots, bulbs, melons, and the like.

There is no linguistic evidence available on the so-called Namib Bushmen, excepting the names by which they were known, e.g. *G/ainin* (*G/einin*), *//obanen*, */'oma-san* (*/koma-san*), */hwinin* (*/Huinin*), *G/anin* (*!/Ganin*).² These names suggest Hottentot groups, and Beach considers it a possibility that they were Hottentot speakers. Detailed linguistic comparisons may reveal that the *Hai-//'um* in SWA have some relationship to the */xū* or Bush-A people, but this comparison has not yet been undertaken. There is only one example of a Hottentot people accepting lexical material from a Bush-speaking people, viz. the *N/hai-(n)ts'e* between *Ghanzi* and *Lake Ngami*. They intermarry with the */xū* and have Bush names such as, for example, */i-/ai*, which permit name-relationships to take place. Excepting the *N/hai-(n)ts'e*, the kinship terminology and kinship system of the Tshu-Khwe—and of other Hottentots studied—has no resemblance to the kinship terminology and system of the */xū* as described by Lorna Marshall,³ to the kinship terminology and system of the *≠hūa*, or to the kinship terminology (and presumably system) of the *ŋ/huki*. Summing up, it may be

¹ Hahn, Fourie, and Vedder, *op. cit.*; see H. Vedder, 'The Nama'.

² *Ibid.*, see L. Fourie, 'The Bushmen of SWA'.

³ Lorna Marshall, 'The Kin Terminology System of the */Kung* Bushmen', *Africa*, xxvii. 1, 1957.

said that even though racial and cultural criteria cannot be satisfactorily applied, the linguistic and socio-linguistic evidence for a differentiation of Tshu-Khwe Hottentots and Bush peoples is ample.

9. Hottentot-Bantu relationships

Meinhof¹ has shown that Xhosa contains much Cape Hottentot lexical and other material. Yei, of the Okavango swamps, contains much material from the North-eastern Tshu-Khwe languages. Apart from these two languages, it cannot be shown without any further detailed studies whether click words, and indeed the clicks themselves, have a Bush or a Hottentot origin in Zulu, Swati, and Suthu. Many click words in Suthu are of Zulu origin, but others are presumably of Bush origin although they may also derive from Hottentot.

Apart from the above recent and clear cases of borrowing between Bantu and Hottentot, there is also another kind of evidence for an early contact between south-eastern Bantu languages and Hottentot. This evidence derives from the comparison of Common Bantu stems² with certain stems in Southern Bantu and in Hottentot. The stems here referred to are remarkable in that (a) they refer to livestock, (b) they do not occur in languages with a tradition of late (1400-1500)³ entry into southern Africa, and (c) they contain no clicks.

The Bantu languages of southern Africa have a number of words in common with Bantu languages anywhere in Africa. They have a further number of words in common with other Eastern Bantu languages, and, finally, they have a number of words which they share with languages in their respective zones. The latter category contains the words for 'cow', 'sheep', and 'milk'. These are particularly interesting because they appear to be either borrowed from Hottentot or borrowed by both Bantu and Hottentot from some other source. The latter alternative is suggested by the absence of clicks in these words, although against this must be held that (a) the words are few, and (b) Hottentot, which lacks clicks in its pronouns and nominal suffixes, may itself have been a clickless language or had a clickless ancestor.

(a) cow (gen.)

| | | | | | |
|----------------|------|-----------------|----------------|---------|------------------|
| <i>kxhomu</i> | (So) | * <i>komu</i> | <i>komá-s</i> | (CH) | * <i>goma-</i> |
| | | | or | | |
| <i>homu</i> | (Ts) | | <i>gomá-s</i> | | |
| <i>inkomo</i> | (Ng) | * <i>komó</i> | | | |
| <i>kholomo</i> | (Ve) | * <i>kodomó</i> | | | |
| | | | <i>dzhubéq</i> | (NE TK) | * <i>gu(b)e-</i> |
| | | | <i>bé</i> | (NC TK) | |
| | | | <i>gwéè</i> | (TK) | * <i>gue</i> |

N.B. The Bantu languages quoted are Suthu (So), Tsonga, Zulu,⁴ Venda. CH and TK represent Cape Hottentot and Tshu-Khwe respectively.

¹ Op. cit. 1905.

² M. Guthrie, Index of Common Bantu Forms, cyclostyled and privately circulated.

³ Abraham, op. cit., 1959.

⁴ I am indebted to Mr. D. K. Rycroft for the tonal markings of all Zulu words, which are from his study of the tonal structure of Zulu and other Nguni languages.

N.B. The Common Bantu¹ forms are *gòmbè, *nòmbè, *gómbó. These occur in Shona (*nyòmbè*), Lilima (*nyòmbè*), Subia (*nyòmbè*), Yei (*nyómbe*), Kwanyama (*óngòbè*), Ndonga (*ongóbé*), Kwambi (*ongómbe*), Herero (*óngòmbè*). They do not occur in languages south of the Limpopo, where the stem *komú, &c. corresponds to the Hottentot *koma-* or *goma-*.

N.B. In the Bush languages these words are as follows: *gumi* (A, B), *gùm* (C), *≠xwà* (D). In A, B, and C the words relate to the Tshu-Khwe starred form rather than the Nama-/ora starred form.

(b) sheep

| | | | | | |
|----------------|------|-------------|--------------|---------|---------------|
| <i>nký</i> | (So) | * <i>gý</i> | <i>gú-s</i> | (CH) | * <i>gýy-</i> |
| <i>eký</i> | (Kx) | | <i>gýy</i> | (TK) | |
| <i>nyimpfú</i> | (Ts) | | <i>dzhúú</i> | (NE TK) | |
| <i>imvú</i> | (Zu) | | | | |
| <i>óndú</i> | (He) | | | | |
| <i>ngú</i> | (Ve) | * <i>gú</i> | | | |
| <i>ígu</i> | (Ye) | | | | |

N.B. The Bantu languages are Suthu, Kxhalaxari, Tsonga, Zulu,² Herero, Venda, Yei.

N.B. Common Bantu¹ forms are *kòkò, *pángá, *méémé, and a variety of other forms occur in Southern languages: ómémé (Mbundu), *nzwi* (Kwangari), ónzi (Ndonga), *odí* (Kwanyama), *úmberére* (Subia), *pkhidzi* (Lilima), *pkhwidzi* (Venda, arch.), *hwai*, *gwai* (Shona), and *igusa* (Xhosa).

N.B. Xhosa *igusa* is a direct borrowing from Hottentot and includes the feminine (and generic) suffix which may occur as *-s*, *-sa*, *-f*, *-fa* in various Hottentot dialects.

N.B. In the Bush languages: *guú* (A), *kuú* (B), *g≠halé* (ŋ/), *g!alú* (C), *tt'aá*, */i* (D).

(c) milk; sour milk (as a refreshing drink)

| | | | | | |
|--------------|------|---|--------------|---------|---------------|
| <i>mafí</i> | (So) | * <i>pí</i> | <i>pii-p</i> | (CH) | * <i>bíj-</i> |
| | | | or | | |
| <i>mafsí</i> | (Pe) | | <i>pii-p</i> | | |
| <i>mafi</i> | (Ve) | * <i>pi</i> | <i>píj</i> | (TK) | |
| <i>amási</i> | (Zu) | * <i>kí</i> , <i>tí</i> , <i>pí</i> (?) | <i>bíi</i> | (Nharo) | |

N.B. The Bantu languages quoted are Suthu, Peli, Venda, Zulu.²

N.B. Common Bantu¹ forms are: *béédè, *dibà, *kám-, the latter being a verbal root. Other stems occurring in Southern Bantu languages are *bici ('fresh milk': *libisi*, Suthu; *luβisi*, Venda; *ubisi*, Zulu), *kaka ('milk': *mukhaha*, Venda; *nkaka*, Lilima; *mukaka*, Shona), and a variety of other stems, e.g. *omaxini*, Ndonga; *omástni*, Kwambi; *omasíni*, Kwanyama; *masini*, Kwangari; *ómáihí*, Herero; *áséndyere*, Mbundu; *masíta*, Yei; *múzhíriri*, Subia; *omaófi*, 'sour milk', Kwanyama; *másanza*, 'sour milk', Subia; &c.

¹ Guthrie, loc. cit.

² Rycroft, loc. cit.

N.B. Clearly the Bantu stem **pi* refers to the prepared sour-milk drink, although it may also be used to refer to all kinds of milk. The concept must be distinguished from such concepts as 'fresh milk', 'first milk', 'human milk', 'the milk of carnivora', 'buttermilk', &c. In some languages it is identical with the form for 'milky sap', e.g. Suthu: *lifi*, *mafī*, cf. Venda: *masi*.

N.B. Like Bantu **bēédē*, the words for 'breast' and 'milk' are sometimes identical in some Tshu-Khwe dialects, although in Nama and */ora* and in the North-eastern, North-central, and Central Tshu-Khwe dialects the root for 'breast' is *sám-*.

N.B. The Nama word for 'milk' is *dqi'i*, n., which does not occur in any other Hottentot language.

N.B. The words for 'milk' in the Bush languages are:

| | | | | | |
|--------|-------------------------------|-----|------|-----------------------------|-----|
| breast | <i>ky</i> | (A) | milk | <i>ky</i> | (A) |
| | <i>!xai</i> | (B) | | <i>(y)he</i> | (B) |
| | <i>!xaite</i> (in <i>y/</i>) | | | <i>y-hī</i> (in <i>y/</i>) | |
| | <i>//xqike</i> (C) | | | ? | |
| | <i>khazi</i> (D) | | | <i>khay</i> | (D) |

The word for 'goat' merits special consideration by historians.

(a) The Common Bantu¹ stems are **būdī*, **pēnē*, **pēmbē*, **pongō*, **tābā*, and **kōmbō*. The stem with the widest geographical distribution, **būdī*, occurring in all Bantu zones with the exception of those in the south-west, is not typical of the nuclear or proto-Bantu area. It alternates, in this area, with **pēnē* in the centre (in common with languages of the north-east and south-west, with **pongō* in the east (in common with other eastern languages), with **pēmbē* in the centre, with **tābā* in the west (in common with languages of the north-west, and, perhaps, with **kōmbō* in the west (in common with languages of the south-west).

(b) In southern Africa the words for 'goat' are as follows:

| | | | | | |
|--------------|---------------|------|---------------|-----------------|----------|
| <i>*būdī</i> | <i>pūlī</i> | (So) | <i>*pēnē</i> | <i>impene</i> | (Su) |
| | <i>mbūdzi</i> | (Ve) | | <i>umphéne</i> | (Ye) |
| | <i>imbūzi</i> | (Ng) | <i>*pongō</i> | <i>mβóngō</i> | (Nr) |
| | <i>mbūti</i> | (Ts) | | <i>phongō</i> | (Tf) |
| | <i>mbūti</i> | (Nr) | <i>*kōmbō</i> | <i>osikómbo</i> | (Nd, Kw) |
| | | | | <i>sikómbo</i> | (Kwg) |
| | | | | <i>óhombo</i> | (Mb) |
| | | | | <i>óngombo</i> | (He) |

The languages quoted are Suthu, Venda, Zulu,² Tsonga, Nrebele; Subia, Yei; Nrebele (archaic), Chopi; Ndonga and Kwanyama, Kwangari, Mbundu, Herero.

(c) In Hottentot languages the words for 'goat' are *piri-p* or *birī-p* in Nama and */ora*, and *puri-p* or *pulī-p* in Tshu-Khwe.

¹ Guthrie, loc. cit.

² Rycroft, loc. cit.

(d) It may not be irrelevant to note that the Hottentots referred to a people east of Kuruman as the Birina, according to the reports of early travellers. The term was interpreted as 'people of the goats'. There is no doubt that the people were Bantu-speaking at that time (seventeenth–eighteenth century).

(e) The wide distribution of Bantu **būdʒ* perhaps suggests that it has a long history in Bantu and that the only vaguely similar Hottentot **birʒ-* is a late acquisition either from Bantu or from an entirely different source.

It is interesting to note that Malagasy words for 'cow' (*omby, ombi*), 'sheep' (*ondry, ondrikondry*), and 'goat' (*osy*),¹ cannot be associated with the Hottentot words, although Iranian or Old Persian roots might.

CARTOGRAPHICAL SUMMARIES OF EARLIER DISTRIBUTIONS

A strictly linguistic examination of the languages described in this paper does not by itself produce evidence for a very much wider distribution of languages than was already known. It does, however, produce evidence for very much wider contacts between Bantu and Hottentot languages and it does produce evidence for what seems to be a massive replacement of Hottentot languages by Bantu languages in areas hitherto not known to have been Hottentot. The survey also reveals that the early—perhaps the Late Stone Age—linguistic history of Southern Africa was characterized by the presence of a great number of unrelatable and unrelated so-called Bush languages. The relative lexical and grammatical homogeneity of such languages as Bantu and Hottentot throws the corresponding heterogeneity of the Bush languages into sharp relief. The Bush languages suggest a sparsely inhabited sub-continent inhabited by several kinds of peoples with several types of distinct cultures, including linguistic cultures. Not much movement and certainly not much rapid movement appears to take place across these cultural borders.

A fruitful linguistic source of information is the Bantu lore of the various language groups, although this can best—and perhaps only—be utilized against the background of the language areas. This is particularly so for investigations affecting more than one language group and for histories going beyond the history of the contemporary chiefly house of a given area.

Map 4: Earlier Bush areas

The historical distribution of the Bush languages can only be inferred from the descriptions of now extinct languages by earlier writers. Dorothea Bleek's² /xam (or /kam-ka /ke) or S I, her //ŋ /ke or S II, Doke's³ ≠khomani, and my ɳ/huki, appear to belong into one group. //xegwi or Bleek's and Lanham and Hallowes'⁴ Batwa or S III, while standing apart for the moment, can perhaps be related to the above group at a later stage. Maingard's⁵ /kõ: and my ≠húa and ɳ/amani and, perhaps, Bleek's /nu //en and /kõ: or S VI all appear to be of the same group. The /xũ or Bleek's N I, N II, and N III (but excluding her N IIa or Hai-//'um) are clearly of one

¹ Kindly supplied by the Rev. A. M. Jones.

1956.

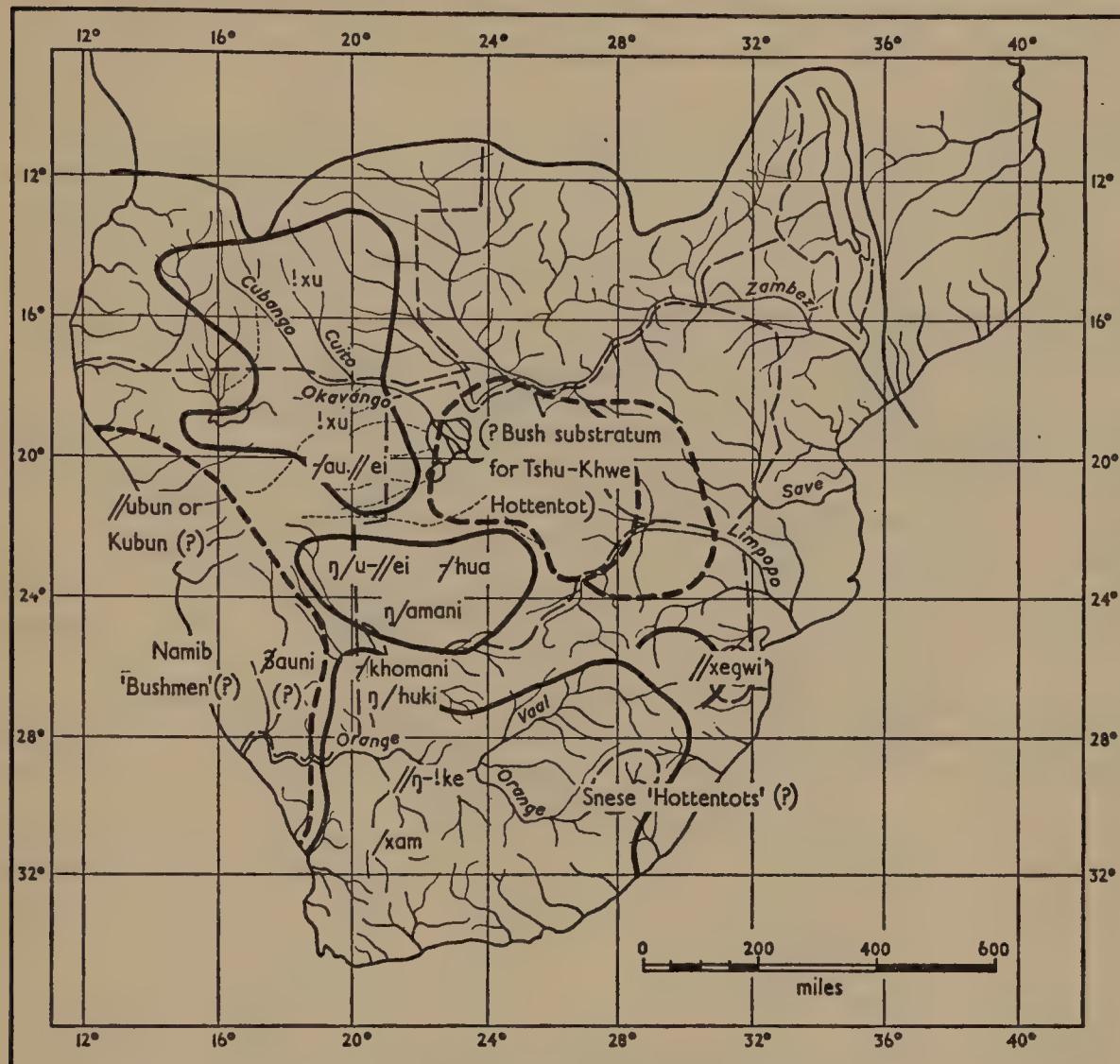
² *A Bushman Dictionary*, 1956.

⁵ 'Three Bushman Languages', Part I: *A.S.* xvi.

³ *An Outline of ≠khómani Bushman Phonetics*, 1936.

1, 1957: Part II: *A.S.* xvii. 2, 1958.

⁴ *An Outline of the Structure of Eastern Bushman*,



MAP 4. Earlier Bush areas. For explanation see text.

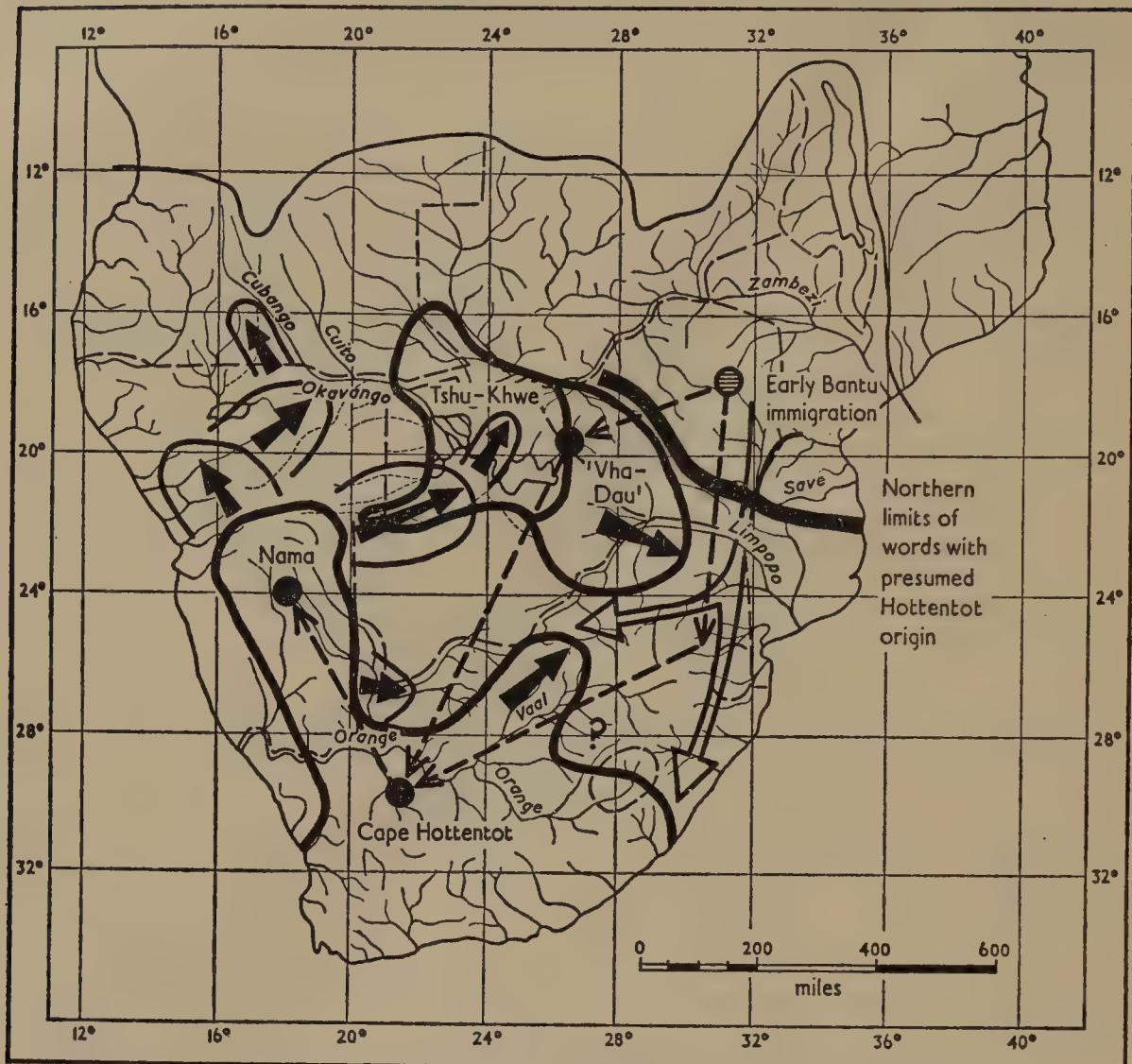
group. It is only Bleek's /auni or S IV group that is not accounted for in my vocabularies. Whether a /auni language group included the languages of the Southern and Northern Namib 'Bushmen' can no longer be determined today.

Working from the language areas obtained by comparing the vocabularies of Bleek, Anders, Wuras, Meinhof, Vedder, and others with the vocabularies of languages still spoken today, the language map can be extended a little further by the use of secondary or marginal information such as the reference to the 'Snese',¹ i.e. Chinese Hottentots who can be presumed to have been 'Bushmen'. This is, however, no longer technical linguistics but rather folklore.

Map 5: Earlier Hottentot areas

The historical distribution of Hottentot languages can be inferred—on the basis of their present distribution—from technical linguistic evidence of several kinds:

¹ 'The Lost Tribes of the Cape', *S.A.J.S.* xxviii. 1931.



- Linguistically ascertainable dispersals or dispersals suggested in historical lore
- Dispersal centres
- Sequence of the development of Hottentot languages and presumed lines of migration with alternative route to account for presence of Hottentot words in SE Bantu languages

MAP 5. Earlier Hottentot areas.

(a) descriptions of languages now extinct, e.g. 'Griqua', (b) evidence of linguistic acculturation, e.g. Xhosa and Hottentot, (c) evidence of Hottentot remnants in other languages, e.g. clicks and the words for 'cow', 'sheep', and 'milk' in South-eastern Bantu languages, (d) conjectural inferences based on the interrelationship of Hottentot languages. The secondary or marginal information is from Hottentot and Bantu folklore. Except in areas of direct contact, Bantu folklore does not usually distinguish Hottentots and Bushmen. Moreover, apart from animal fables, Hottentot lore does not generally continue into Bantu lore—the one known exception being in Ovamboland. Thus the history of the VhaDau of the Northern Transvaal does

not really have any continuity until towards the end of the eighteenth century. It is only from then onwards that it becomes interwoven with the story of the VhaNgona, even though it is well known that the VhaNgona lived in the eastern section of the Zoutpansberg range. Mbedzi, or old Venda, tradition is explicit on this point.

An interesting point arising from the examination of words with a fairly wide distribution in all language types of southern Africa is that these words usually lack clicks, e.g. 'cow', 'sheep', 'goat', 'milk', 'year', 'throat', 'dog', 'valley'. A further interesting point is that Tshu-Khwe Hottentot has a good many more clickless words than Cape and SWA Hottentot, and we have assumed, for linguistic reasons, that Proto-Hottentot—as distinct from Proto-Cape-Hottentot—arose closer to the Tshu-Khwe area than to the Cape-Hottentot centre of dispersal. The combination of these considerations suggests that a clickless language in contact with a Bush language of Southern Rhodesia and Bechuanaland—and perhaps of the Northern Transvaal—gave rise to Proto-Hottentot. Proto-Hottentot, moving into the North-western Cape, then acquired a further vocabulary from its contact with other Bush languages, giving rise to Proto-Cape-Hottentot. In the meantime Proto-Hottentot survived in North-eastern Bechuanaland and from there moved into the regions of the Kalahari today occupied by the Tshu-Khwe, while both the parent Bush and the hypostatized parent clickless language moved southwards into the North-eastern and Eastern Transvaal, there to ultimately surrender their existence following the relatively massive immigrations of Bantu-speaking peoples. In this way we could account for the presence of both clicks in the Nguni languages and the presence of words for 'cow', 'sheep', 'milk' and perhaps others in the Southern Bantu languages—an account made necessary by the apparently late contact of Cape Hottentot with Bantu-speaking peoples in Natal and the Transkei.

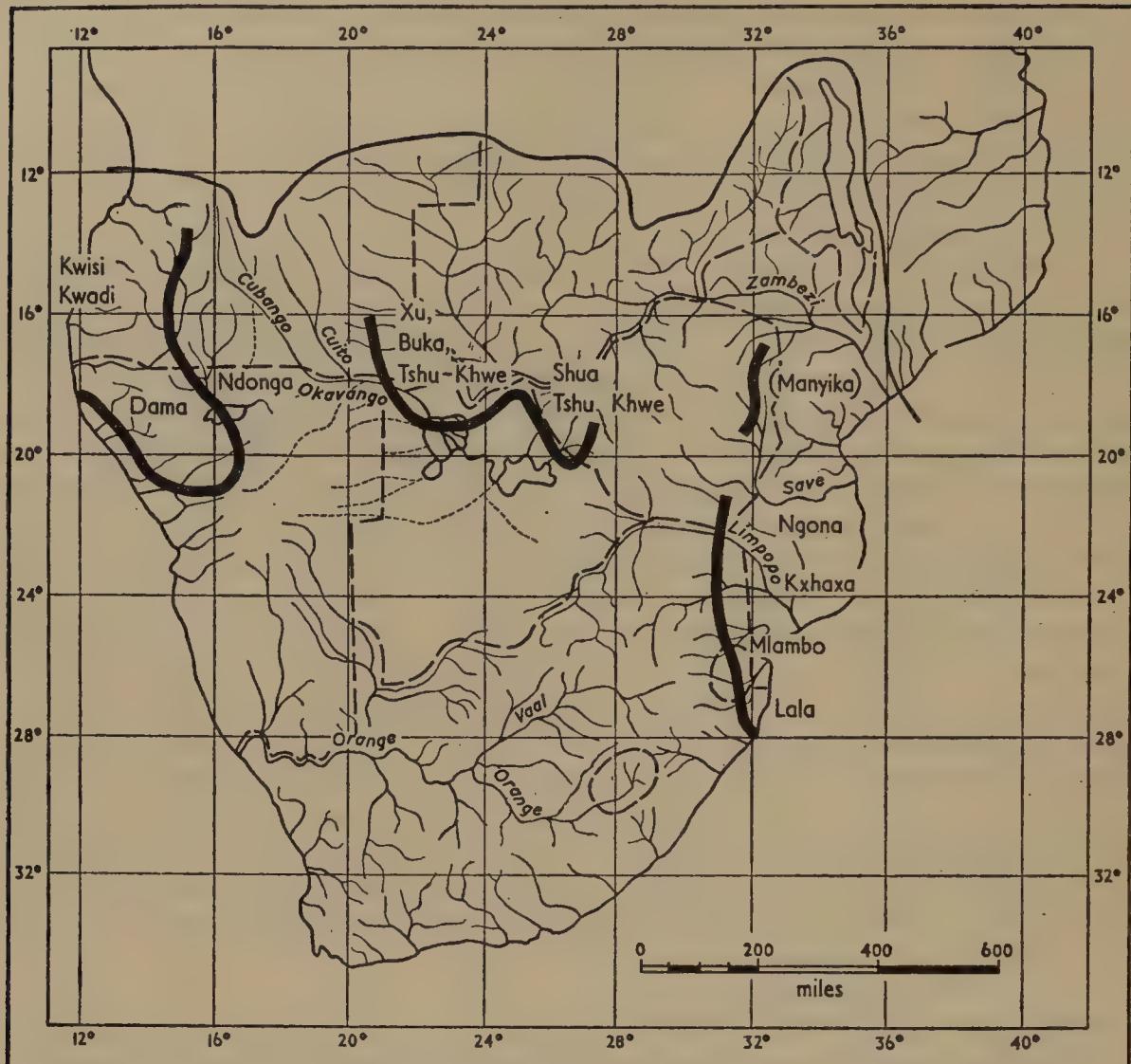
Map 5 reflects the extensions of the linguistically ascertainable Hottentot areas by folklore and marginal linguistic material.

Map 6: A non-linguistic hypothesis for Kwadi

Folklore—both Bantu and Hottentot—suggests the presence of certain primitive peoples in areas which came to be occupied by them. In SWA areas north-west and north of Windhoek were traditionally occupied by the Dama. Some of these today speak Hottentot, while other smaller groups appear to have merged with Bantu peoples and today speak a Bantu language. It is generally believed in SWA that the Dama did not always speak Nama. In the Kaokoveld up to and beyond the Kunene river live the Herero-speaking Tyimba and Himba.¹ The Tyimba, the earlier arrivals, lived a hunting and collecting life like the Kwisi in Angola, and it is only with the Himba that cattle were brought into this area. In the Namib or coastal desert in SWA north of Sesfontein there are no inhabitants, but in the Angolan Namib, known as Deserto de Mossamedes, live the remnants of the Kwadi people, also known as Cuepes and Curocas to the Portuguese.¹ These, as stated above, speak a language distinct from any of the Bush languages, from Hottentot, and from Bantu.

The Ndonga—or Ntonga or Tonga, if allowance is made for the vocalization of nasal compounds with -t—belong to the Ambo Group. Some of their traditions

¹ Estermann, *Etnografia do Sudoeste de Angola*, 1960; N. J. Van Warmelo, *Notes on the Kaokoveld and its people*, Govt. Printer, Pretoria, 1951.

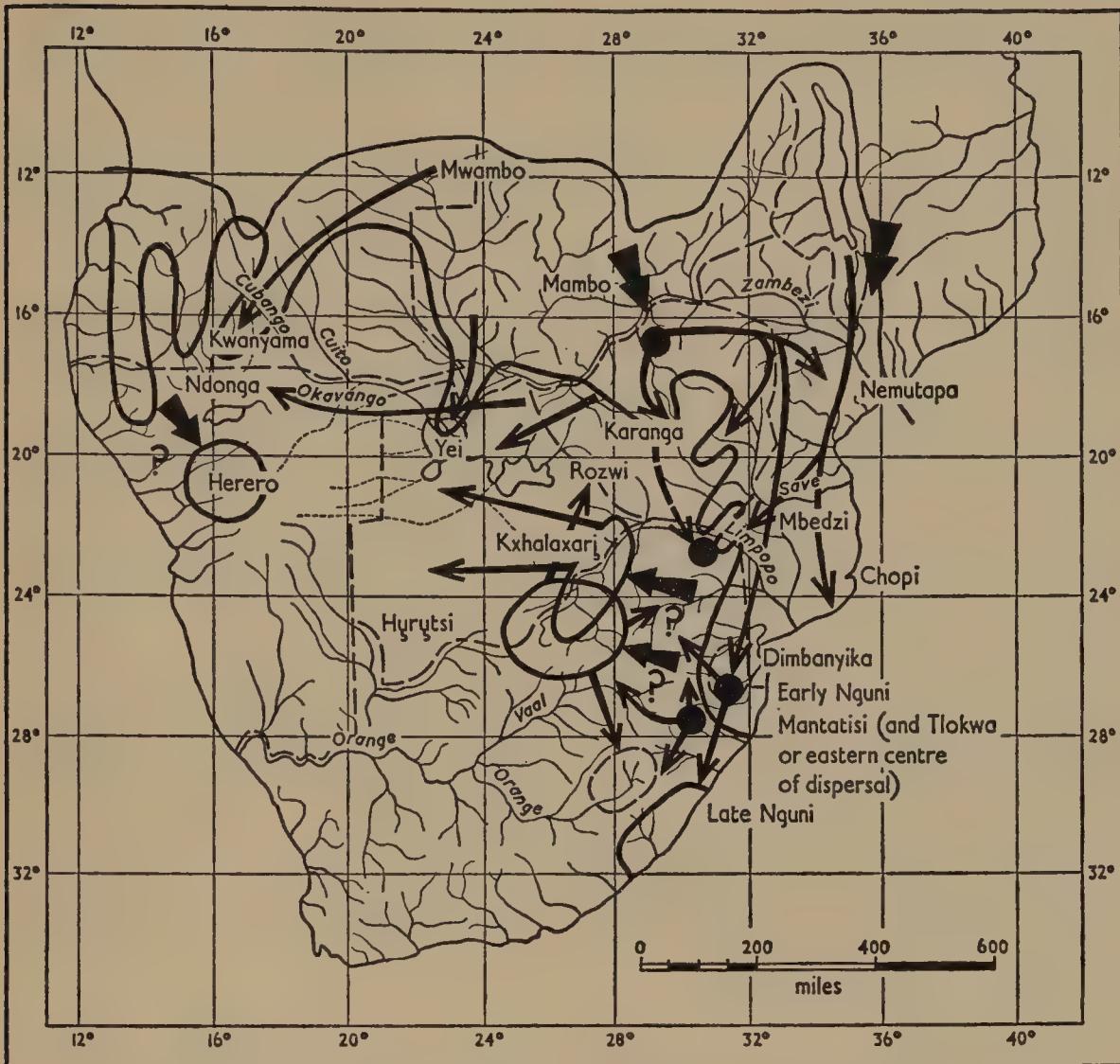


MAP 6. A non-linguistic hypothesis for Kwadi. For explanation see text.

state that they came from the east, where with the 'Nama' (i.e. Hottentots) and the 'Rumbu' (i.e. *iiRumbu* or white men) they built a vast house of stone. They were of lower status than the Hottentots and the White men.

In eastern Southern Rhodesia and in the eastern Transvaal, Bantu traditions refer to small groups of primitives who lived by hunting and collecting, had no chiefs, had no fire (presumably meaning no knowledge of fire-making), and were apparently not so physically different as to be classified as a different 'race' in the legends. We find references to such people amongst the Manyika, the Venda, the LoBedy, the Swati, and the Zulu. A boundary showing the western limits of such legends is shown on Map 6. The name of the Manyika people is not known. The others are the Ngona, the Kxhaxa, the Mlambo, and the Lala, respectively.

The Xu, G//ani, Buka and Shua Tshu-Khwe Hottentots, who mostly differ somewhat from other Tshu-Khwe peoples in language and habits, perhaps also have to



MAP 7. The earliest Bantu areas. For explanation see text.

be singled out as having the same kind of relationship to the other Tshu-Khwe Hottentots as the Dama have to the Nama Hottentots.

It is suggested here that the broken boundary lines across Southern Africa and down the Eastern Escarpment are perhaps part of a general boundary line differentiating two kinds of 'Bushmen'. The northern 'Bushmen' were presumably non-Bantu-speaking, like the Kwadi of the Curoca river, but could perhaps also have been Bantu-speaking. In the latter case their way of life would have been like that described for the Kwisi, viz. hunting and collecting, with or without a rudimentary agricultural knowledge.

The Twa groups marked by Desmond Clark may be part of this conjectural pre-Bantu or earliest Bantu 'Bushman' people.

Map 7: The earliest Bantu areas

This map is an attempt to define the sequence of entry of Bantu-speakers into Southern Africa according to their historical lore. Much comparative dialectal work

still has to be done in Southern Africa to provide a similar linguistic map not based on folklore. The little work that has been done on dialect comparisons does not always seem to bear out traditions. On the other hand, linguistic analysis does not provide us with definite dates and the difficulty may arise from the fact that historical lore does not reach very far back. No acceptable reference to the presence of the parent Sotho language and people in the Kimberley-Kuruman-Mafeking area—isolated from other Bantu areas as it is—has been made in the literature on the subject.

In general, entry in the eastern and east coastal regions is early, while in the west and west coastal regions it is extremely late. On the whole traditions allow us to determine north-to-south movements only, although there are some notable exceptions viz. (1) the eastwards, north-eastwards, and northwards movements of the Sotho from the Kimberley-Kuruman-Mafeking area, (2) the westwards movements of Ndonga tradition, and perhaps (3) the west-east movement of the non-Karanga section of the Shona. There are, of course, also the late or historical movements from the south to the north of the Zulus (Mzilikazi, Soshangane, Zwangendaba), from the south-east westwards and then northwards of the Sotho (Sebitwane, Mantatisi), and from the west eastwards of the Herero.

There are a few traditions which allow a check across the otherwise distinct north-to-south movements of various groups. Such are, for example, the Dimbanyika legends linking the Venda, Loßedy, and Swati, the Thoßela and Thoßezhane legends linking the Pedj and the Venda, and several others not yet tested. Such legends are generally lacking in the western region, where the languages and language groups have not fused on the same scale as in the east.

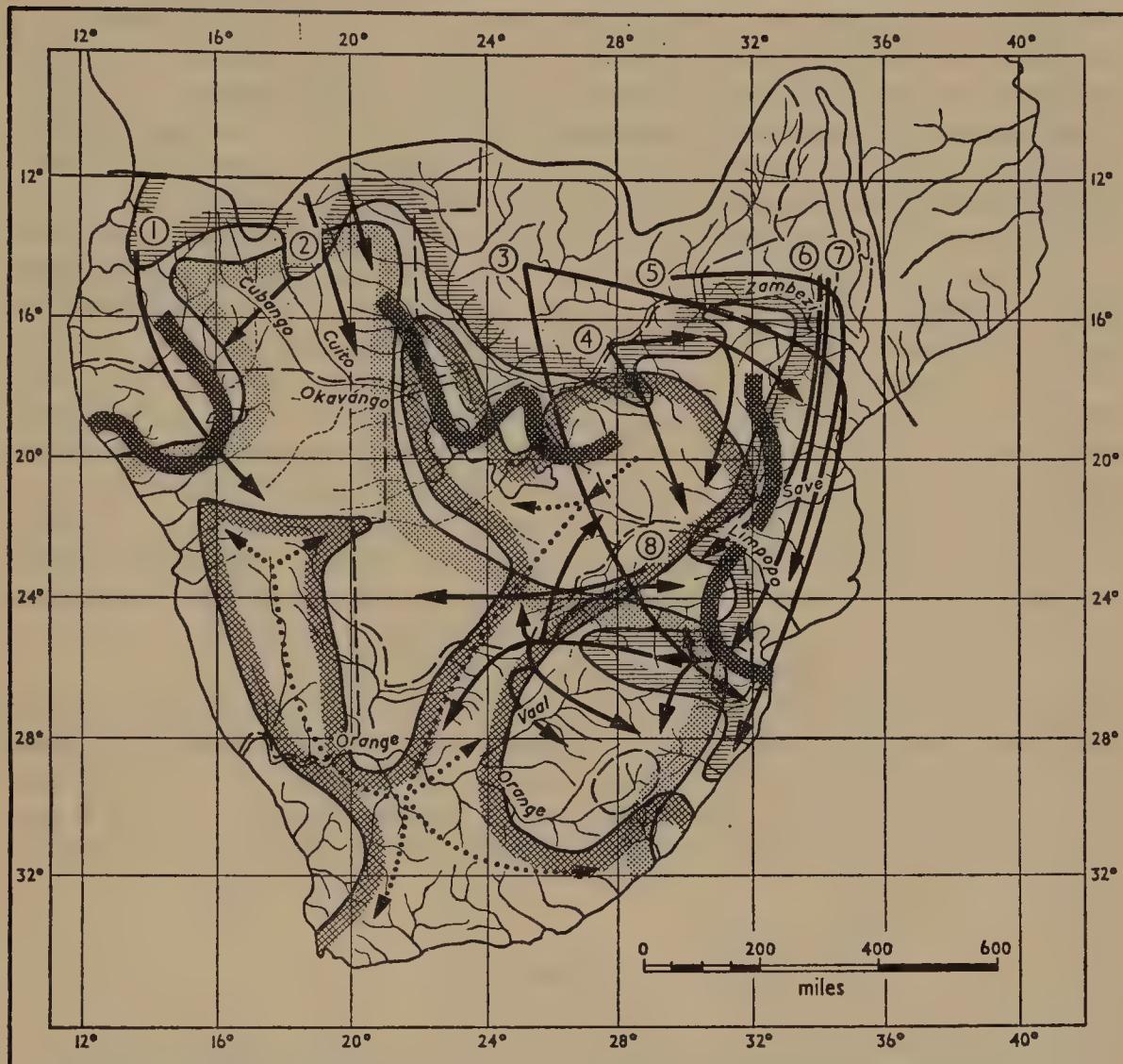
This method of comparing oral lore eventually requires that the traditions be layered. A layering of the Venda traditions would, for example, produce the following sequence:

- (1) ? .
- (2) ? Ngoni.
- (3) ? 'Mbedzi' or early Venda.
- (4) 1600 Venda of Thoho-ya-Ndou.
- (5) 1750 Venda of Mphephu and return of the VhaDau.

The Sotho Group is more complicated, but as a general illustration its traditions may be listed as follows, bearing the main representatives of the parent group in mind:

- (1) ? Dihuja (= 'Hottentots', in Kxhalaxari).
- (2) ? Kxhalaxari or early Sotho.
- (3) ? Hurutsi.
- (4) 1600 Kwena.
- (5) 1750 Present Sotho Group dispositions.

If the maximum age of a coherent tradition is taken to be as for the Thoho-ya-Ndou legends—viz. 150 years or 3-4 generations of narrators after the events took



-→ Hottentot dispersal
- Bantu dispersal
- ① Herero, ② Kwanyama, ③ Early and Late Nguni, Late Nguni being Zulu, ④ Shona,
- ⑤ Tsonga ?, ⑥ Venda, ⑦ Sotho, ⑧ Kxhalaxari
- Bush A-D languages
- Hottentot languages
- Kwadi and hypostatized pre-Bantu languages
- Bantu languages

MAP 8. Composite map of linguistic distributions and dispersals (with no reference to time).

place—we could obtain a date of A.D. 1450 for (3), A.D. 1300 for (2), &c. This procedure need, however, only be resorted to if the cross-checking alluded to above cannot be undertaken.

GENERAL SUMMARY

Bantu historical lore enables us to define an area within which the Hottentot and other languages of this description could have developed in the relative isolation

they seem to have enjoyed. In the east two Bantu points of entry reveal themselves, the one across the lower Zambezi somewhere east of Tete not having hitherto received the attention it deserved. Several centres of dispersal can be determined by a comparison of dialects and by a comparison of dialect distribution and folklore. Such centres of dispersal in the Bantu area are, for example, the Swaziland-Zululand area, the present Venda area, and the Mafeking-Kuruman-Kimberley area.

Folklore and language seem to indicate a relatively early presence of an organized Bantu people along the eastern escarpment. At a later stage a more primitive and perhaps more agricultural people moved eastwards along the Zambezi and down the east coast. Associated with the latter or perhaps preceding them were the Northern Bushmen mentioned above. The earliest Bantu made contact with the Hottentots who were living either in the western half of Southern Rhodesia or in the eastern highveld areas of the Transvaal. It is suggested that Hottentot itself is the product of an unknown (and clickless) language and a Bush language of Southern Rhodesia. The reason for this is the difference between Tshu-Khwe Hottentot and Cape Hottentot vocabularies. The Southern Bushmen, speakers of what we term Bush languages 'A', 'B', 'C', 'D', &c., occupied western Southern Rhodesia and the whole of Southern Africa south of the Limpopo, south of the Zambezi west of the Victoria Falls, and south of the (U)Mbundu territory in Angola.

Map No. 8 summarizes language distributions and their dispersal without reference to the time at which they took place. It is possible to do this in Southern Africa, since certain areas were, until quite recently, only sparsely inhabited or not inhabited at all. Others, like the Sotho-Tswana centre around Rustenberg, Mafeking, and Kuruman, became depopulated owing to the development of arid climatic conditions.

Résumé

PRÉHISTOIRE LINGUISTIQUE DU SUD DE L'AFRIQUE: RELATIONS LINGUISTIQUES ENTRE LE BUSH, LE KWADI, LE HOTTENTOT ET LE BANTOU

Les langues étudiées dans cet article sont: les Bush 'A', 'B', 'C' et 'D', le Kwadi, le Hottentot et environ 20 groupes de langues bantoues, comprenant plus de 50 dialectes distincts. La tradition historique bantoue nous permet de délimiter l'espace dans lequel le Hottentot et autres langues pourraient s'être développés dans l'isolement relatif dont ils jouissaient. Dans l'est, deux centres d'influence se révèlent, l'un au delà du Zambèze inférieur, quelque part à l'est du Tété, n'ayant pas reçu jusqu'ici l'attention qu'il méritait. Plusieurs centres de dispersion peuvent être déterminés en comparant les dialectes et la façon dont les dialectes et le folklore se sont répartis. Les centres de dispersion dans la région bantoue sont, par exemple: la région du Swaziland-Zoulouland, la région actuelle de Venda et la région de Mafeking-Kourouman-Kimberley. Le folklore et la langue semblent indiquer la présence relativement ancienne d'une peuplade organisée bantoue, le long de l'escarpement de l'est. A une époque postérieure, une peuplade plus primitive et peut-être plus agricole se déplaça vers l'est, le long du Zambèze et vers la côte est. Adjoints à cette dernière, ou peut-être la précédent, se déplacèrent les Bushmen du nord. Les Bantous les plus anciens prirent contact avec les Hottentots qui vivaient

soit dans la moitié ouest de la Rhodésie du Sud, soit dans les hautes régions à l'est du Transvaal. Il a été suggéré que la langue des Hottentots est le produit de l'amalgame d'une langue inconnue (et sans 'clicks') et de la langue Bush de la Rhodésie du Sud. Ceci résulte de la considération de la différence qui existe entre le vocabulaire de la langue Hottentot Tshu-Khve et le vocabulaire de la langue Hottentot du Cap. Les Bushmen du sud, parlant les langues que nous dénommons les Bush 'A', 'B', 'C', 'D', etc., occupaient l'ouest de la Rhodésie du Sud, et toute la région du sud de l'Afrique qui se trouve au sud du Limpopo, au sud du Zambèze à l'ouest des Chutes de Victoria, et au sud du territoire (U)Mbundu, en Angola.

Notes and News

Committee on African Studies in Canada

THE Committee on African Studies in Canada (Le Comité des Études Africaines au Canada) was formed at the end of last year after a founding meeting at McGill University, Montreal, when it was decided to create a permanent bilingual organization. Professor Ronald Cohen of the Sociology Department at McGill University was elected as Chairman, and Professor Donald C. Savage of the Department of History at Loyola College in Montreal as Executive Secretary.

The Committee undertakes to provide a forum for the exchange of information among Canadian Africanists. The Officers are exploring the possibility of an annual meeting to which papers could be contributed, and it has been decided to publish an annual newsletter. The Committee plans to sponsor discussion of the place of the study of non-European cultures, particularly African, in the curriculum of Canadian universities, and to promote a co-operative purchasing policy among those Canadian university libraries interested in acquiring African research materials. English and French are to be the official languages of the Committee and all reports will be issued in the two languages.

All inquiries concerning the Committee should be directed to the Secretary : Dr. Donald C. Savage, 4071 Grand Boulevard, Montreal 28, Canada.

Le Centre d'Études et de Documentation sur l'Afrique et l'Outre-Mer

BRANCHE ' Afrique Noire ' de la Documentation Française, le C.E.D.A.O.M. joue un rôle multiforme d'information et de documentation qui en fait l'un des meilleurs centres parisiens de recherches sur l'Afrique du Sud du Sahara, Madagascar et les Territoires et Départements d'Outre-Mer.

Le Centre d'Études et de Documentation sur l'Afrique et l'Outre-Mer est l'héritage d'un ensemble de services qui se sont regroupés à partir de 1941 dans les locaux de l'ancienne Agence de l'Indochine, 20 rue de la Boétie, d'abord sous forme d'*Agence Économique des Colonies* puis en 1953 sous forme de service d'information et de documentation du Ministère de la France d'Outre-Mer.

En 1959, lors de la suppression de ce Ministère à la suite de la mise en place de la Communauté, ce service était rattaché à la direction de la Documentation (Service du Premier Ministre, Secrétariat Général du Gouvernement) et érigé en un Centre axé sur l'Afrique Noire qui recevait le nom de *Centre d'Études et de Documentation sur l'Afrique et l'Outre-Mer*.

Ce Centre comprend trois parties :

Un service de documentation qui constitue des dossiers sur l'ensemble des problèmes politiques, économiques, sociaux et culturels de l'Afrique au Sud du Sahara, les départements d'outre-mer (Martinique, Guadeloupe, Guyane, Réunion) et les territoires d'outre-mer (Comores, Côte française des Somalis, Nouvelle Calédonie, Tahiti, îles australes).

Une photothèque qui dispose de 35.000 clichés et s'enrichit régulièrement par les envois des services d'informations des Républiques indépendantes d'Afrique.

Une bibliothèque comptant quelques 40.000 volumes. Elle comprend la totalité des collections de journaux officiels de l'ancien outre-mer français, par ailleurs les journaux des Républiques africaines y parviennent par avion.

Depuis avril 1962, le C.E.D.A.O.M. édite la revue *Afrique Contemporaine* dont le n° 5 est paru en février 1963 et qui tente de faire le point de tout ce qui paraît actuellement sur l'Afrique.

Dans sa forme actuelle, le C.E.D.A.O.M. qui est dirigé par R. Cornevin, Administrateur en Chef des Affaires d'outre-mer et auteur de nombreux ouvrages sur l'Afrique, constitue l'un des centres parmi les mieux outillés de Paris pour l'étude de l'Afrique Noire.

The International Congress of Orientalists

THE twenty-sixth International Congress of Orientalists will be held in New Delhi in 1964. It will be divided into ten principal sections, including Islamic Studies and African Studies. Some additional sub-sections may be organized, if necessary. Further information regarding the Congress may be obtained from the Secretary, Organizing Committee, XXVIth International Congress of Orientalists, Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs, Government of India, New Delhi.

'The African Historian'

THE Historical Society of the University of Ife, Ibadan, published in March 1963 the first number of its journal *The African Historian*, a collection of essays on Yoruba history by members of the society. In a Foreword Dr. S. O. Biobaku emphasizes the importance of such local historical studies, from the results of which more general histories may be compiled.

The British Institute of International and Comparative Law

THIS Institute is now operating a Commonwealth Legal Advisory Service, under which information is supplied to the Legal Departments of countries interested, on developments in other parts of the Commonwealth which may be of particular concern to them in their programmes of law reform and legal organization. Membership, which includes a subscription to *The International and Comparative Law Quarterly*, costs £4. 4s. per annum.

The Institute has recently announced the publication of a Synoptic Table and Index of Reported Cases of the Penal Codes of East and Central Africa and the Gambia. This is part of a comprehensive Commentary on these Codes which is being prepared by Miss Hilary Cartwright and Mr. J. S. Read for publication at a later date. The Synoptic Table and Index is available to members of the British Institute at a reduced price of 10s., plus 2s. postage. Inquiries and applications for membership should be made to the Director, The British Institute of International and Comparative Law, 1 Temple Gardens, Temple, London, E.C. 4.

Université d'Alger: Centre d'Études Sociologiques

UN groupe de jeunes anthropologues s'est donné pour tâche d'aider à ressusciter la recherche sociologique en Algérie sur trois plans: création d'un centre de formation accélérée de sociologues, constitution d'une documentation organisée et cohérente sur la sociologie maghrébine, et réalisation d'un programme de recherches sur l'évolution des structures familiales en Algérie. Le cycle d'étude au Centre comporte plus de recherche personnelle que d'études livresques et les élèves sont partis enquêter pendant un an au profit d'une organisation de recherche appliquée; ils rédigent ensuite en six mois une thèse analogue à la thèse du 1^{er} Cycle de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études.

Le Centre de Documentation a pour but de recenser et surtout rendre accessible l'ensemble de la production ethnologique et sociologique sur le Maghreb, avant d'entreprendre, tâche

plus ambitieuse mais également nécessaire, l'inventaire des documents bruts indispensables au sociologue.

Dans la recherche sur l'évolution des structures familiales on tentera l'investigation systématique du déclin des structures traditionnelles de parenté dans un pays en voie de modernisation et de leur remplacement par d'autres types de solidarité et de conflits; d'autre part cet inventaire des structures familiales et des modes traditionnels d'éducation pourrait servir de fondement à toute politique de l'éducation de base en Algérie: il montrerait comment on peut trouver dans la civilisation traditionnelle elle-même — et la guerre en fait partie — les germes d'un renversement.

Register of Research in Ethiopia

THE Institute of Ethiopian Studies, in the Haile Sellassie I University, in Addis Ababa, is compiling a register of all research work being carried out on Ethiopia, whether undertaken inside the country or abroad, and would be grateful for information concerning any such research. Information should be sent to Mr. Richard Pankhurst, Institute of Ethiopian Studies, Haile Sellassie I University, P.O. Box 1176, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

Publication of Library Catalogue, School of Oriental and African Studies, London

THE Library Catalogue of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, is in course of publication. This catalogue, built up over a period of 45 years, is estimated to contain some 554,800 cards at the present time. It is in three parts—author, subject, and title. It covers all subjects except Science, Medicine, and Technology and includes Language, Literature, Philosophy, Religion, Geography, History, Law, Anthropology, Sociology, Economics, Politics, Art, and Archaeology. It deals with the whole of Africa, Asia, and Oceania. Europe and America are also represented in the collections on phonetics and linguistics. A considerable number of analytical entries are to be found in the catalogue and special attempts are made to index bibliographies and biobibliographies in this way.

Further information on this catalogue may be obtained from the publishers: Messrs. G. K. Hall & Co., 97 Oliver Street, Boston, Mass.

Création d'un musée à Fort-Lamy (Tchad)

PAR décret du 6 Octobre 1962, le Gouvernement de la République du Tchad a décidé de la création d'un Musée National Tchadien qui comprendra un établissement principal à Fort-Lamy et des annexes provinciales (Fort-Archambault et Ouara notamment).

Il comptera trois départements majeurs, (a) paléontologie humaine, préhistoire et protohistoire, (b) ethnographie, (c) archives scientifiques; des départements de sciences naturelles leur seront adjoints dans l'avenir.

En attendant que soient construits les bâtiments définitifs, une partie des collections d'ores et déjà rassemblées sont exposées au Centre tchadien pour les Sciences humaines: outillage néolithique et céramique provenant principalement du Borkou, terres cuites et bronzes sao mis au jour à Mdaga où des fouilles systématiques se poursuivent et à Gawi, objets d'usage courant en provenance des pays sara, massa, koulfa et du Guéra; parmi ces derniers, on note les seuls exemplaires existant dans les musées de masques rituels tchadiens représentant des oiseaux.

Certains de ces objets, bronzes et céramiques sao, masques et armes sara, ont été exposés à Paris en 1962 (Grand Palais et Musée de l'Homme) à l'occasion de la visite officielle en France de Monsieur François Tombalbaye, Président de la République du Tchad.

'Neologisms in Hausa'

THE following examples of 'French-influenced Hausa' (see p. 41 of Mr. Kirk-Greene's article in *Africa*, January 1963) have been provided by Mr. T. G. Brierly. He states that they are in common use in former French territories—especially Niger and north Dahomey—where Hausa are to be found:

| | | | |
|------------|--|-------------|--------------------------|
| alumeti | matches | lokatori | doctor |
| amwari | cupboard (armoire) | luneti | dark glasses |
| best | jacket (veste) | mada(n) | educated female |
| bisikletti | bicycle | malati | ill |
| bobo | sweets | mekanisia | mechanic |
| buro | office | montra | watch |
| buteli | large bottle | mushe | educated male (monsieur) |
| butiki | shop | mushenlekol | school teacher |
| daputi | member of Leg. Co. | obaji | hotel (auberge) |
| duwa | wine (du vin) | panci | breakdown (en panne) |
| invitasio | invitation | piki | injection |
| istwari | create difficulties (faire des histoires) | posta | post office |
| jarda | garden | radio | wireless |
| jondama | policeman | reparisanta | representative |
| kabiran | corporal | roti | roast joint |
| kafi | coffee | sabuli | soap (Hausa: sabulu) |
| kado | 'dash' (cadeau) | shopola | chocolate |
| kapsu | elastic (caoutchouc) | soseti | socks (chaussette) |
| karevi | puncture (crevé) | tabali | table |
| kliluluwa | keys (clefs) | tangaraho | telegram |
| komondoro | D.O. (commandant) | torci | flashlight |
| kulotti | shorts | velo | bike |
| kuriye | mail; bus (courrier) | veri | glass |
| lahinga | needle (épingle) | voti | election |

'Etnografia do Sudoeste de Angola', Vol. III

FATHER ESTERMANN, the author of this book which was reviewed in *Africa*, January 1963, p. 80, wishes to make clear that while he has not himself obtained evidence of the existence of double-descent groups among the Angolan Herero, he believes that they probably are to be found among the Tjimba Herero, with whom, however, his contacts have been very limited. The statement that the Kuvale Herero came under Portuguese administration only in 1940-1 is incorrect; in fact, administrative posts had been established in their area before the end of the nineteenth century. Any implied criticism of the Portuguese administration is the sole responsibility of the reviewer and should not be attributed to Father Estermann.

International Library of African Music: 'The Sound of Africa' Series

THE International Library of African Music,¹ whose Director is Mr. Hugh Tracey, has recently published its latest catalogue of 'AMA' long-playing records, consisting of nearly 200 records in over 70 African languages recorded in the Districts of Origin. A generous grant from the Ford Foundation made possible the pressing and publication of some 80 of

¹ See also *Africa*, 1959, 4, p. 421.

these. Territories covered by the series include Basutoland, Bechuanaland, Congo-Leo, Kenya, Mozambique, Nyasaland, Northern and Southern Rhodesia, Ruanda/Burundi, South Africa, Swaziland, Tanganyika, and Uganda. Further information and catalogues of these records may be obtained from The Director, International Library of African Music, P.O. Box 138, Roodepoort, Transvaal, South Africa.

Margaret Wrong Memorial Fund: Award for 1962

At a meeting held in Edinburgh House, London, on 10 January 1963, the Administrative Committee agreed that an award should be made to Mallam Abubakar Imam, O.B.E., for his distinguished services as Hausa editor of *Gaskiye Ta Fi Kwabo*, as Editorial Superintendent with the Northern Region Literature Agency, and for his authorship of fiction, history, and miscellaneous writings. An award was also made to Wole Soyinka, lecturer in the Department of English in the University of Ife, for the originality of his literary contributions as a playwright.

East African Art

In a paper given to the Commonwealth Section of the Royal Society of Arts, London, on 12 February 1963, Mr. Sam Ntiro, the artist, began with an account of rock and cave paintings in Tanganyika. He then went on to discuss 'tourist sculpture' in East Africa and the concern felt by artists and others at the low standards for which the commercialization of this sculpture must be held responsible. The problem was a difficult one, since no modern country could afford to shut its doors on tourists and the civilizations of other nations. Mr. Ntiro felt that East Africans should first of all cherish and care for their own culture, for it was only after they had experienced this concern that they would be in a position to appreciate and benefit from other forms of culture and so in time raise the general standard of their work. Finally Mr. Ntiro paid tribute to the work of Mrs. Margaret Trowell, the founder of the School of Fine Art at Makerere College, and described the works of some of its students who have since become well-known artists.

Reviews of Books

Essays on the Ritual of Social Relations. By D. FORDE, M. FORTES, and V. W. TURNER.
 Edited with an Introduction by MAX GLUCKMAN. Manchester University Press, 1962.
 Pp. vii, 190. 25s.

THERE should be some simpler way of presenting new theoretical developments than the memorial tribute. With its acrobatic combination of courtesies and criticism it usually cuts down the object of the tribute to less than size. Professor Gluckman's image of himself as a dwarf perched on the shoulders of Van Gennep suggests a high vantage-point, but the giant has turned out to be only a little one before the assessment is over. This minor short-coming apart, a volume of mature reflections on *rites de passage* is very welcome. The symposium is richer for not being constrained by a single scheme—each author considers the aspect that interests him most and in his own terms. The first two essays are broadly comparative, Professor Gluckman considering the general conditions in which transition ceremonies and ritual are not likely to be highly developed, and Professor Fortes considering the opposite case, where strong mystic sanctions support formal transfers of status. The last two are studies of particular rites: Professor Forde analyses Yakö funeral ritual and Dr. Turner analyses Ndembu circumcision rites.

Professor Gluckman's essay summarizes the difference in the texture of social relations in modern and tribal society. In small, close-knit communities roles are not clearly differentiated, they overlap and, as a result, moral judgements spread out from one context to the next, eventually embracing all a man's roles and engaging the loyalties one way or another of everyone in the community. Therefore the individual roles need to be clearly dramatized and so also does the over-riding interest of the whole community if it is not to be divided by conflict. In complex modern society roles and judgements are so segregated that individual conflicts are not likely to spread, and so formalities at role-changing are less important.

I am not quite clear how sexual roles are meant to fit into this scheme. In close-knit tribal society men's and women's roles tend to be very much more segregated than in our own, and yet often to be reinforced by strong ritual, while in the modern family in which the roles of husband and wife are far from segregated we do not find mystic sanctions or formal dramatization of their distinctiveness. Apart from this puzzling exception, Professor Gluckman's relation of ceremoniousness to the quality of the social structure is very useful.

Where he seeks to draw more wide-sweeping conclusions from these differences in social relations he is more obscure. Can he really explain the modern decline in mystical beliefs from differences in the social structure? Only if he widens his field of interest which he says is narrowly concerned with social relations and not with movements in the realm of ideas. It is not only social roles which are fragmented and segregated in modern society. Four hundred years of specialization in different fields of thought have given our culture its secular bias, and it is hardly surprising that mystically sanctioned rites do not spontaneously emerge in small family businesses or in other modern, close-knit communities.

Professor Fortes's essay, in the tradition of Durkheim and Weber, makes an intricate analysis of the relation of an individual to his socially ascribed office. Ritual presents office to the individual as the creation and possession of society and so mobilizes authority behind

the granting and exercise of office—it guarantees legitimacy. Many examples of mystical notions supporting the performance of rites are subtly related to their social context.

By force of circumstance funerary ritual has hitherto been interpreted with reference to changes in the status of kinsmen. Among the Yakö the kinship principle is cut across by powerful associations. At death the most important rituals stress the obligations of the dead man's kin groups to the associations to which he belonged. Professor Forde here takes the opportunity to illustrate the dynamics of Yakö politics, thus completing the indications given in his earlier account of Yakö marriage.

Dr. Turner takes Ndembu circumcision rituals as a cue for interpreting clusters of Ndembu religious symbols, especially colour symbols. One kind of white means milk, motherhood, and matriliney; another more dazzling means strength, virtue, purity, and goodness; red means blood in its several kinds, of maternity, hunting, and homicide. This is the first level of meaning, what the Ndembu say about their ritual colours. Another deeper level of meaning is uncovered by seeing the range of contexts in which each symbol is used, and another again by examining the relation of a symbol to others in the same ritual pattern. First a vocabulary, then a kind of grammar, and finally a richly complex culture is revealed. This essay flows in the full stream of twentieth-century discussion of imagery. Not only anthropologists, but the many students concerned with symbolism will be interested in the technique as well as the content of this study.

MARY DOUGLAS

Essays in Social Anthropology. By E. E. EVANS-PRITCHARD. London: Faber & Faber, 1962.
Pp. 233. 30s.

THIS collection consists of nine lectures and articles, which first appeared between 1932 and 1961. They are reprinted unaltered, with only a brief preface. Some are well known and now form part of the history and structure of current social anthropology, as, for example, the three lectures which consider the development of social anthropology, its relation to history and to the study of religions. There are five essays about the Azande, four of which depend primarily on the author's own field work, and one on a comparative examination of literary sources. Rather on its own is 'The Divine Kingship of the Shilluk of the Nilotic Sudan'; perhaps the most economically worded and exciting single lecture delivered in the subject. But, diverse as they are, all illustrate the author's type of modest scholarship, which attempts to illuminate the relationships between the particular and the general, rather than 'to explain' either in terms of the other.

A few recent reviewers, even those who have collected their own essays, have queried the utility of assembled volumes such as this. Such questionings seem to me insular in tone, because they ignore the number of students without access to the back files of even such journals as *Africa* (let alone *Zaire* or *Sudan Notes and Records*). Already in Africa there are probably more students reading courses in African Studies and Social Anthropology than existed in the world in 1933, when 'Zande Blood-Brotherhood', a neglected paper which is reprinted here, was first published. This number can only increase. It seems more reasonable to question the conservatism of publishers who stick to conventional and expensive formats, instead of trying to reduce selling prices. There seems no obvious reason why this book, which has a small index, only one diagram, and no maps, could not have been produced at half the price.

What is regrettable is not what is in the book but what has been left out. The most disappointing omissions are those much quoted articles on some theories of magic and religion which appeared in the *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts* of Cairo University in 1933, and which now rely for general circulation on a few scruffy and corrupt typescripts.

P. T. W. BAXTER

The Nigerian Political Scene. Edited by ROBERT O. TILMAN and TAYLOR COLE. Duke University Press and Cambridge University Press, 1962. Pp. xii, 340. 80s.

THIS volume of the Duke University Commonwealth Series discusses the political and economic organization of independent Nigeria and its prospects for the future. Background is provided in brief accounts of its ethnography by George P. Murdock and of its history by W. B. Hamilton.

Taylor Cole discusses the constitution, and gives a special chapter to the civil service, in which he coins the word 'expatriatization' to mean arrangements for dispensing with expatriates. L. Gray Cowan surveys the different views on foreign policy held by the federal government and the opposition under the leadership of Chief Awolowo, with reference particularly to their interpretations of Pan-Africanism and their attitudes towards the defence pact with Britain.

The section on economic development is concentrated on the human factor. Joseph J. Spengler writes on demographic prospects, Frederick Harbison and Archibald Callaway on the paradoxical contrast between the shortage of technicians and skilled administrators and the steadily increasing number of school-leavers seeking urban employment. Callaway's chapter is vividly descriptive; it is based on a field study of school-leavers—'applicants', as they call themselves, almost as if this in itself was a profession. Both writers find that too much money is being spent on primary education in relation both to further education and to direct investment in economic development. Callaway also discusses the kind of farm settlement scheme that can be expected to attract young men with the reasonable aim of a more secure income and a higher standard of living than their fathers had; he refers to the popularity of the Western Region scheme.

Pendleton Herring sees the political future as a process in which 'the growing economic and social needs of the country select some and discard others' of 'certain indigenous factors' (p. 248)—a hyperfunctionalist view. He finds ground for optimism in the 'democratic values' of the non-centralized peoples—values which in the nature of things flourish where political institutions are not centralized. Francis X. Sutton, on the other hand, sees authoritarian rule as the almost inescapable aftermath of the colonial era.

Father James O'Connell provides a survey of work published in the social sciences since the appearance of Coleman's *Nigeria*.

LUCY MAIR

La Structure sociale des Bamileke. Par J. HURAULT. Paris: Mouton. (Le Monde d'Outre-Mer passé et présent. Deuxième Série. Documents. I.) École Pratique des Hautes Études, Sorbonne, 1962. Pp. xi + 133, ill., cartes.

THE term *Bamileke* is a convenient administrative label for a population of just under 500,000, grouped into about ninety chiefdoms which speak Bantoid languages, the inter-relationships of which have provided linguists with a problem and a challenge. Though they evidently share many institutions, it can be assumed that in their traditional organization they varied as much from one another as did the neighbouring chiefdoms in the Bamenda Grassfields. But even in 1954 there was little published material available for the preparation of an Ethnographic Survey by the International African Institute, and the account in that volume was largely based on the early researches of the late L. W. G. Malcolm on the Bagham (Eghap) chiefdom and the synthesis made by Delarozière of data on the Bafoussam chiefdoms in administrative reports. In the disturbed conditions which have afflicted the Bamileke region over the last few years, some chiefdoms have been destroyed, and in others much of the traditional organization and religious institutions have been swept away, so that future reconstruction may in many cases prove impossible. One therefore welcomes this study by M. Hurault, which originated in a mission sent by

the Institut Géographique National in 1955, and who has since then discussed his material with linguistic informants. His research was carried out on the chiefdoms of the Bafoussam Subdivision and he has given us the first detailed structural analysis of the kinship and political systems of the two chiefdoms with which he is principally concerned—Batié (population 7,000) and Banjoun (30,000).

Both chiefdoms possess a system of double unilineal descent associated with an ancestral cult, but how widely this is distributed among the Bamileke to the west over towards the West Cameroon border is not known. As far as is known, it does not occur in the chiefdoms of the Ndop Plain and in the Ngemba area and further north, and there is nothing in the published literature to indicate its existence among the Bamum. Patrilineages are three to four generations in depth, though, as in some of the Bamenda chiefdoms, titles of lineage heads may extend back through a chain of five to ten office-holders.

Patrimony in the form of land, buildings, male skulls, and the right to arrange the marriages of daughters of his predecessor are inherited patrilineally by the lineage head; his brothers and other agnates at marriage establish their own compounds elsewhere and are potential founders of other lineages. In default of male issue the patrimony goes to a daughter's son. Hurault gives no evidence of named dispersed patricians and in fact suggests that links are not maintained between lineages, since any individual other than an heir makes sacrifices only to his own father and father's father.

Of particular interest is the transmission of female skulls in a mother-daughter line with provision for the substitution of sons if female heirs fail. Moreover, each woman bequeaths her own skull to a daughter and thereby becomes the potential founder of another 'skull-line' within the matrilineage, as Hurault terms it. A woman skull-holder performs sacrifices for the uterine descendants of the founder, is treated with respect and receives assistance from them. Together they constitute an exogamous group but have no other collective activities. The position is complicated by the fact that a man's children also come under the ritual influence of his female ascendants, but in practice it is a person's immediate forebears who are regarded as the most effective. As one would expect, the longest skull-lines are associated with titles. The effective unit for co-operation on a kinship basis is a small group of some ten adult males meeting weekly in the compound of the most senior.

A group of compounds constitutes a 'quarter', under a hereditary notable in the case of Batié, and an appointed head in Banjoun, each being responsible to the chief (*fo*) for tax collection, public works, and, formerly, defence. The book is useful for its detailed account and maps of territorial organization, land use, and control of sylvan resources. The ideology of chieftainship is very similar to that found in the Bamenda area, but the principal difference in political organization is in the greater proliferation of associations, some of which are restricted to royals and some to retainers; the highest-ranking societies are open to both. In addition there are nine nobles (*kamvu*) traditionally descended from the companions of the chiefdom's founder who have functions at the royal installation and in controlling certain spiritual forces. They lack the conciliar role of the Bamenda chiefdoms to the north, but appear to resemble the *PaKom* of Bamum.

Hurault gives a detailed exposition of marriage, of which there are two types: one with bridewealth which gives the husband control over his daughters, and one known as *ngkap* where a woman is given in marriage in return for services and small gifts, and her daughters remain the wards of the donor (*ta-ngkap*). The latter type occurs throughout Central Cameroon and in many other parts of West Africa, but it seems to have been practised much more extensively among the Bamileke: Hurault estimated that one chief was *ta-ngkap* of 1,500 women in a chiefdom of about 20,000. Formerly entry to the highest-ranking societies also involved the gift of women to the chief. To judge by these examples, perhaps one of the most striking differences between Bamileke and the larger Bamenda chiefdoms

is the higher proportion of inhabitants linked to the chief himself by bonds of kinship or retainer service. Whether this type of system occurs among the western Bamileke is not known, but M. Hurault's work will suggest lines along which research should be conducted.

The book contains no bibliography, and the author directs the reader to the massive bibliography appended to M. Tardits's *Les Bamileké de l'Ouest Cameroun*.

PHYLLIS KABERRY

Land Tenure in Zanzibar. By JOHN MIDDLETON. London: H.M.S.O., 1961 (Colonial Research Studies, 33). Pp. 88. 15s.

ZANZIBAR and Pemba have a very mixed population of nearly 300,000 people. The land of these islands is used for purposes ranging from subsistence agriculture to the large-scale commercial production of cloves, of which the Protectorate is the world's main supplier. Not all parts of the population have equal or similar interests in the various sectors of the land economy. In times of greater political and social stability there was, however, much co-operation between different users of the same areas of land. Squatters were welcome to grow annual crops rent-free in the clove plantations, since this kept the weeds down and also provided local labour for clove-picking. Political unrest in recent years brought into the open conflicts of accustomed right which were potential in more tranquil times. Moreover contractors, and the Government itself, did not always understand that land which had been left had not been abandoned, and so their use of 'waste land' provoked protests. A further complication exists in that there are here three systems of law to be considered in connexion with land rights: local customary law (with some variation from place to place); the Islamic *shari'ah*; and Protectorate legislation, for which British officials of the Government were largely responsible.

The main part of Dr. Middleton's report is concerned with setting out the facts and principles of customary law in the two islands as it relates to land usage. In order to explain the principles, the author has quite rightly found it necessary to relate the system of land tenure to the kinship system of the indigenous (or at least oldest) inhabitants, who now call themselves 'Shirazis'. Dr. Middleton promises us a more detailed account of the kinship of the Hadimu of Zanzibar later. In the present book it has not been possible to set forth those varieties of circumstance, whether of day-to-day life or of crisis, in which Zanzibar and Pemba kinship can be seen as a system in much more than the common diagrammatic sense of the word.

Dr. Middleton's study is based on three months' fieldwork in the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba in 1958. His achievement in this short time fills one with admiration. He was, of course, a fluent Swahili speaker when he undertook the research.

On points of detail, the name *Manga* is used in Zanzibar for referring to Arabs from Oman rather than to those from the Hadramaut; and though I cannot assert that it is definitely not the case I find it hard to believe that anyone in Zanzibar needs a specific *right* (beyond that which he enjoys through being a Muslim of the appropriate denomination) to pray the Friday prayer in any particular mosque.

PETER LIENHARDT

Sidney Webb and East Africa: Labour's Experiment with the Doctrine of Native Paramountcy. By ROBERT G. GREGORY. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1962. Pp. 183. \$3.50.

It might have been thought that everything had been said on 'paramountcy', a word which occurs in the sub-title of this book and conveys a fairer description of its contents. Mr. Gregory starts by tracing again the background of the proclamation of the 'doctrine' over Kenya in 1923. He maintains against the evidence of Dr. Roland Oliver's *The Missionary*

Factor in East Africa (1952) that the influence of Dr. J. H. Oldham and his group was of less importance than that of the Indians in Kenya in effecting the adoption of this word. This surprising judgement is only one of many which indicate the author's lack of understanding of the British and Kenya Governments in the 1920's. Later he calls Sir Edward Grigg, as Governor of Kenya, 'the intellectual force behind Amery' (p. 141)—a strange reversal of roles! The climax of the extraordinary ideas with which this book abounds is perhaps reached in the remark that in 1929 Lugard was 'becoming senile' (p. 101)! The words may have been lifted from one of the sometimes gossipy diaries and letters that Mr. Gregory has read without fully understanding. It is unfortunate that a fundamental lack of knowledge of the working of British constitutions and of the personal and political pressures involved in their working has profoundly marred what, from its title, appeared to be an interesting investigation. Mr. Gregory is the first to publish material on East Africa from the Webb papers in the London School of Economics. His researches there could have supported a useful article but should not have been blown up into an immature book and published by a university press.

GEORGE BENNETT

The Plateau Tonga of Northern Rhodesia: Social and Religious Studies. By ELIZABETH COLSON. Manchester University Press, 1962. Pp. xv, 237. 32s. 6d.

SEVERAL manners of writing anthropology flourish concomitantly today: the paradoxical, the astringent, the polemical, the fastidious. Dr. Colson's style is from none of these stables. It is tranquil, unadorned, and lucid. With it she makes contributions to theory and knowledge of the utmost importance. The present book is an assemblage of seven articles on the Mazabuka Tonga hitherto scattered through several journals and written over a period of years. One would hardly expect it to have the unity of a monograph. Yet each essay is a facet of a single lustre; through each we perceive the same essence.

That essence has by now become familiar to specialists and students of African anthropology—it is Tonga society itself, revealed by Dr. Colson as a palimpsest registering the criss-cross of structural relationships. Ties of clanship are transected by cattle links; the matrilineal descent group is dismembered by manifold village affiliations. Transection and dispersal are here related to mobility, and the general mobility of the Tonga population is probably influenced by the flat topography and localized rainfall of the Mazabuka Plateau. The amoebiform Tonga polity is hard to describe, but Dr. Colson succeeds in this task by combining quantitative methods with the analysis of joking relationships between the only perduring groups, the dispersed, exogamous, matrilineal clans, to which the ultimate values of Tonga society are attached.

This book should be a godsend to all teachers of anthropology. I have only one note of criticism to sound. The essay on 'Ancestral Spirits and Social Structure' to my mind relates beliefs about ancestral spirits to aspects of the social system in a one-sided and mechanical fashion, as though such beliefs constituted little more than a set of pointer readings about structural features and processes. They are surely very much more than this, offering clues to regions of personality and culture beyond the scope of the 'structural'. It is a tribute to Dr. Colson that it is the very elegance of her argument that elicits this cautionary comment. And it is the one article that seems to be the last word on an aspect of Tonga society. All the others provoke new thought as well as settle issues.

V. W. TURNER

La terre et l'homme en Haute-Moulouya. Par R. RAYNAL. Rabat: Société d'Études Économiques, Sociales et Statistiques, n.d. Pp. 68, cartes.

L'ÉTUDE de M. Raynal, comme l'indique fort justement son titre, se propose d'expliquer le genre de vie des habitants de la Haute-Moulouya par l'influence des conditions géo-

graphiques et climatiques, et inversement de montrer quelle a été l'influence des hommes sur le dessin général de la région.

L'auteur expose comment les différences ethniques, les guerres tribales, la poussée des Sahariens vers le Nord, ont abouti vers la fin du XIX^e siècle à un équilibre dans lequel les Nomades, riches de leurs troupeaux, ne font pas mauvaise figure en présence des sédentaires encore englués dans un régime de propriété où la confusion règne souvent entre biens domaniaux, biens collectifs et terres plus ou moins individualisées. Ces aspects très divers des structures économiques et sociales dans les hautes plaines de Midelt et d'Itzer s'accompagnent d'un niveau de vie relativement — et paradoxalement — élevé, en raison surtout d'une situation démographique peu critique. Mais cet équilibre, établi à un niveau modeste, peut toujours être remis en question par les incertitudes de la vie pastorale.

On saura gré à M. Raynal d'avoir parfaitement analysé les données historiques et géographiques qui déterminent le passé de la Haute-Moulouya et orientent son avenir. On aurait cependant pu souhaiter qu'il poussât davantage l'étude des structures sociales et de leurs possibilités d'évolution. Enfin — rançon inévitable de toute monographie — les influences extérieures qui se sont exercées sur la Haute-Moulouya (en particulier la poussée des Aït Atta) sont saisies davantage dans leur impact que dans leur origine.

V. PÂQUES

L'Histoire de l'Afrique. Par ROBERT CORNEVIN. Tome I. *Des origines au XVI^e siècle*. Paris: Payot, 1962. Pp. 453, 22 cartes. 30 NF.

Ce nouvel ouvrage est une édition considérablement augmentée de *L'Histoire de l'Afrique des origines à nos jours* parue en 1956. Il se subdivise en 3 grandes périodes:

L'Afrique africaine, correspondant à la préhistoire et à l'histoire égyptienne avant 1200 B.C. A cette époque, ce continent a tenu une place considérable dans l'évolution de l'humanité, puis de la civilisation elle-même.

L'Afrique méditerranéenne (1200 B.C. à la conquête arabe). Le dessèchement du Sahara scinde l'Afrique en deux: une partie presque uniquement tournée vers la Méditerranée (Égypte, colonisation carthaginoise en Afrique du Nord, colonisation grecque en Cyrénaique; empire romain) et l'autre, l'Afrique noire qui, à l'exception de la Nubie et de l'Abyssinie, rattachées à la précédente, va désormais évoluer à part, malheureusement privée des courants civilisateurs de l'Antiquité.

L'Afrique arabe (639-1500), avec comme divisions principales: l'Afrique de la conquête arabe à 1050, première période qui a surtout affecté l'Égypte et le Maghreb; l'Afrique du XI^e siècle à 1500, avec l'épopée almoravide, l'islamisation des savanes, les grands empires soudanais et les sultanats de la côte orientale; la découverte de l'Afrique par les navigateurs européens, depuis le XIV^e siècle jusqu'à Vasco de Gama.

Nous ne suivons pas l'auteur sur certains points: la réalité du périple d'Hannon, l'interprétation des données de Ptolémée, une origine soudanaise de la métallurgie du fer, l'hypothèse de l'origine égyptienne des Yoruba, la priorité des Dieppois sur les côtes occidentales d'Afrique.

Cependant, l'ouvrage de R. Cornevin, synthèse commode à consulter, enrichie de tableaux chronologiques, d'une bibliographie détaillée par chapitres, est destinée à rendre de grands services par la clarté même de son exposition et la somme de détails peu connus en général qu'il met à la disposition du grand public.

R. MAUNY

Bongouanou, Côte d'Ivoire. Par J.-L. BOUTILLIER. Paris: Collection l'Homme d'Outre-mer, nouvelle série no. 2, 1960. Pp. 224, ill.

Problèmes fonciers dans les régions de Gagnoa et de Daloa. Par H. RAULIN. Paris: ORSTOM, 1957. (Mission d'étude des groupements immigrés en Côte d'Ivoire, fascicule 3.) Pp. 139, cartes.

M. BOUTILLIER, in his study of a 'subdivision' (administrative district) of the Ivory Coast, makes use of techniques which are radically different from the 'classical' techniques of the anthropological field-worker. Forms and questionnaires were extensively used and the study was carried out co-operatively by a team consisting of an economist, a statistician, a social worker, and a doctor of medicine, as well as over thirty interviewers. The survey covered a large sample of the total population (4,100 of the 51,000 autochthonous inhabitants—Agni—as well as 700 of the 18,000 immigrants living in the area). It must be added that the work was done with painstaking accuracy and thoroughness; for example, the ingredients of more than 40,000 meals were weighed in order to obtain reliable data on diet.

In this way the author is able to provide us with a wealth of quantitative data in the demographic, economic, sociological, and medical fields. This does not mean, however, that the questionnaire technique makes 'classical' ethnographic fieldwork superfluous: rather, the two methods are complementary. Indeed, apart from his statistical data on polygyny, divorce, and composition of households, what Boutillier has to say on social structure is rather shallow. This is the more striking since so many excellent studies exist on the social structure of these and related Akan-speaking peoples of Ghana and the Ivory Coast.

It is a pity that the author does not give us more information concerning the methods he used. Here and there one may read between the lines and infer that there were occasional difficulties caused by unwillingness or other factors (pp. 23, 76, 80, 99, 143). Personally I am inclined to some scepticism as to the value of asking in this kind of society standardized questions such as 'Would you like your children to inherit from you?' (the Agni in question being matrilineal), or (to a woman) 'Would you like to be monogamously married, or would you rather have a co-wife?' Occasionally, moreover, I suspect the author of presenting us with spurious exactness (see, for example, p. 97 on savings and cf. p. 99).

As to the contents of the book, the full chapter on economic life (ch. III) certainly shows all the advantages of the questionnaire method and almost none of its disadvantages. Chapter IV analyses the results of a somewhat ambitious programme for modernizing the economic and social situation of the area which failed, although the necessary financial means were not lacking (owing to cash crops—coffee and cocoa—Bongouanou Subdivision is exceptionally wealthy by African standards).

The book derives much of its value from its description of the relationship between the autochthonous population (the Agni) and the strangers, who have come in large masses from the considerably poorer Sudan region to the belt of tropical forest in order to find work and earn money. Agni and immigrants live in a curious kind of economic symbiosis, almost all artisans and merchants being allochthonous as well as a large percentage of the labourers on the cocoa- and coffee-farms. Nevertheless, there are few signs of assimilation, the Agni considering themselves very much superior to the 'strangers' and the latter being in every respect in an isolated and subordinate position.

Some of the author's assertions are open to criticism: for example, his explanation of why the Agni have small bride price (p. 44), or his remarks on the inalienability of land (pp. 60, 61, 152, 165, 195). But these are minor objections and M. Boutillier is to be congratulated on an interesting piece of work most competently carried out.

M. Raulin's book also discusses the relationship between the autochthonous inhabitants of the Ivory Coast forest belt and immigrants. In this case the autochthonous population are not the matrilineal Agni, but their patrilineal neighbours (Dida, Gagu, Guro, Bete). Much useful information is given, not only on land tenure, but also on sociological and modern political phenomena (pp. 88-93; 124-30). M. Raulin indicates why tensions between the groups mentioned are in one case of a graver nature than in another, according to circumstances (e.g. quantitative ratio of autochthonous and immigrant groups), and generally does so in a convincing way. Moreover, he provides interesting side-lights as to the dynamics of the autochthonous societies themselves. On the other hand there are certain errors in the book; for instance, M. Raulin contends that cocoa and coffee farming are exclusively men's work (pp. 18, 97). Now, while it is true that the men have a far greater interest in them than in food production (which is typically the concern of women), much of the routine work on the coffee and cocoa fields is done by women—so much so that many Bete say 'We don't need labourers, we have our wives for that'. The immigrants have on average larger farms than the autochthonous groups. The author ascribes this initially (p. 52) to their custom of paying high bride price, and it is only on p. 122 that he mentions other more relevant factors. On p. 107 he discusses two villages of which one is more progressive than the other, and here too he explains the difference by the fact that the second one spends more money on women (the first village numbers 27 farmers having 58 women, the second one 35 farmers having 81 women, so the difference is in fact not significant).

The author derives a great many of his data from official sources, but in the opinion of the present reviewer, he overestimates their value. For instance, he argues (p. 83) that private ownership of land was known traditionally in Bete culture, even before the arrival of the French, basing his assumption on a statement made during a session of the 'Tribunal Coutumier' of 12-14 April 1956. This seems insufficient evidence on which to base such a conclusion, even if we assume that the person in question was not deliberately lying. Firstly, the man spoke no European language, so a translation is involved with all its possibilities of misunderstanding. Secondly, the record of the proceedings is not an exact reproduction of what was said (the author himself was not present at the session). Thirdly, assuming that the man in question had indeed claimed to be the sole proprietor of the land in question, would he not, in fact, be speaking in the name of the lineage of which he was the head? Fourthly, even supposing that he was the sole proprietor in his own and his family's eyes, would this also be true of his ancestor who acquired the land? And lastly, to what does the proprietorship refer, to the land itself or perhaps merely to the valuable trees upon it? Like many peoples the Bete make a sharp distinction between ownership (usufruct) of the land and of the trees.

Finally, a word must be said about the form in which the author has presented his report. It is not so much a book as a rough compilation of field notes, and as such makes somewhat unattractive reading.

A. J. F. KÖBBEN

Estudos sobre a Etnologia do Ultramar Português. Vol. 2. Lisboa: Junta de Investigações do Ultramar, 1961. (Estudos, Ensaios e Docum., 84.) Pp. 361, ill. 70\$00.

Ensaios Etnológicos. By JORGE DIAS. Lisboa: Junta de Investigações do Ultramar, 1961. (Estudos de ciências políticas e sociais, 52.) Pp. 198. 40\$00.

Colóquios sobre Problemas Humanos nas Regiões Tropicais. Lisboa: Junta de Investigações do Ultramar, 1961. (Estudos de ciências políticas e sociais, 51.) Pp. xxviii, 125, maps. 35\$00.

THE first of these volumes is a collection of anthropological essays relating to Portuguese overseas territories, dealing with such topics as African religion and the relevance of anthropology to public health and nutrition work. The essays are essentially introductory

and are somewhat general in their approach. Special mention should however be made of a study of Chokwe symbolic designs by Eduardo dos Santos.

Professor Dias's *Ensaios Etnológicos* is a collection of essays intended to give an outline of anthropological theory for the Portuguese reading public. The presentation and style are attractive and lucid but those trained in the approach of British social anthropology may find a certain lack of empirical grip, which appears in the final chapter where the problems of Portuguese Africa are discussed.

Colóquios sobre Problemas Humanos nas Regiões Tropicais is another collection of essays by various authors. Three deal with Africa. Professor Orlando Ribeiro writes honestly of the racial and social problems of the Portuguese African territories. Professor Dias discusses Makonde kinship institutions as being the field of conflict between masculine and feminine cultural patterns, using concepts apparently drawn from German ethnology. Maria da Conceição Tavares da Silva provides a valuable study of marriage among the African population of Luanda.

Among the Kimbundu-speaking population of Luanda, prolonged acculturation under urban conditions and a formal acceptance of Christianity have not destroyed the predominance of the customary marriage marked by bridewealth payment and proofs of the bride's virginity. The Catholic form of marriage is regarded as being open only to Africans whose standard of living approaches that of the whites. Under modern conditions various forms of union without payment of the bridewealth have emerged, intermediate between the traditional unions and informal concubinages. One looks forward to more studies of this kind from Miss Tavares da Silva and her associates.

A. C. EDWARDS, C.S.Sp.

Studies of Indian Employment in Natal. By the Department of Economics, University of Natal. Volume 11 of Natal Regional Survey. Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1961. Pp. 167, ill. 35s.

THIS volume of the Natal Regional Survey adds slightly more factual data to that already published on living conditions of Indians in South Africa. A brief introductory résumé of Indian occupational development from the early period of indenture to the present is followed by a survey of 'market gardeners', a Durban Indian market, a fishing community, and a concluding chapter on unemployment.

The material was collected mainly by economists using questionnaires and does not attempt any deep sociological analysis. Thus the chapter on 'market gardeners' provides useful tables on the size of gardens in different districts, types of tenure, ownership or leasehold, length of occupancy, number of gardens using fertilizers, types of crops; but there is virtually no information on the status of the 'market gardeners' in the wider community, the relationship between landowners and tenants, or the fundamental aspects of land tenure in the South African racial setting. The section on the Indian fishing community, a community well worth investigation, gives adequate information on the development of the fishing industry, the nature of fishing operations, the size of the fishermen's families, their education and income, and touches incidentally on competition, social incentive, and craft organizations. The sample studies of employment show the disproportionately high rate of Indian unemployment and classify the unemployed according to place of birth, age, marital status, education, mobility, and stated reasons for loss of work. No direct reference is made to the deep-seated prejudice of many white Natalians against the Indians which is reflected in the unemployment figures.

The book includes some very beautiful photographs, but is without an index or a bibliography.

HILDA KUPER

African Music in Ghana. By J. H. KWABENA NKETIA. London: Longmans, 1962. Pp. 148, including 30 pp. music transcription and 2 maps. 30s.

THIS book, says Professor Nketia, is a general introduction to Ghanaian music and a basis for future investigation. He discusses the social setting of musical activity and the occasions on which it is used, types of music and of performing groups, vocal music, melody and harmony, and the rhythm of songs. He includes a very short survey of musical instruments and a bibliography in which the references to Ghanaian music are particularly welcome. There is no index.

While the book contains a lot of informative material it produces a rather confused effect on the reader, owing partly to the chapter layout—which prevents the author from handling, in the same place, the various aspects of any one topic, and causes repetition, but chiefly to the literary mannerisms—the author adopts an astonishingly complicated way of saying simple things.

As to harmony, the variety of available chords and chordal sequences is surprising, though Professor Nketia in his final summary indicates that as a general rule, people—as elsewhere in Africa—sing either in parallel octaves, fourths and fifths, or in parallel thirds.

In the transcriptions the music is all scored within conventional Western bar-lines: this, while mathematically possible, seems dynamically questionable, as it appears largely to disregard the irregular melodic accents described in the text.

But what is most surprising is that the rhythmic aspects of drumming—the exhibition *par excellence* of African musical genius—are dealt with in less than one page.

A. M. JONES

Yoruba Numerals. By ROBERT G. ARMSTRONG. Ibadan: Oxford University Press for Nigerian Institute of Social and Economic Research, 1962. Pp. 32. 2s. 6d.

THE traditional Yoruba numerals, which are set out in the earlier part of this booklet (following largely the account of them given in Abraham's *Dictionary of Modern Yoruba*), form a complicated vigesimal system which makes extensive use of the principle of subtraction. This seems to have been developed in connexion with the use of cowries as currency, but in spite of its interest it is quite unsuitable for abstract calculation. Professor Armstrong here expounds a new, decimal system of counting which he has devised. This dispenses with the complicated subtractions and would, if accepted, facilitate the teaching of arithmetic in Yoruba. The new system is built up on processes already present in the existing system and the only foreign words borrowed are 'million' and 'billion'.

Professor Armstrong hopes that the adoption of his new system will 'permit the dignified retirement of the old numerals to ceremonial and commemorative usage'. But, in fact, this has already largely happened, judging by the difficulty which modern Yoruba children, educated in English, now have in operating the higher Yoruba numerals. This contrasts with the situation a century ago, when Crowther (see his *Yoruba Grammar and Vocabulary*, 1852, p. 39) remarked on the skill of even small children in counting. English is now so widely used for the higher numbers that the simplest solution might well be for Yoruba to accept these terms as borrowings into the language, just as Hausa earlier took over the corresponding Arabic forms.

E. C. ROWLANDS

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Note. Names containing prefixes are indexed under the initial letter of the first prefix.

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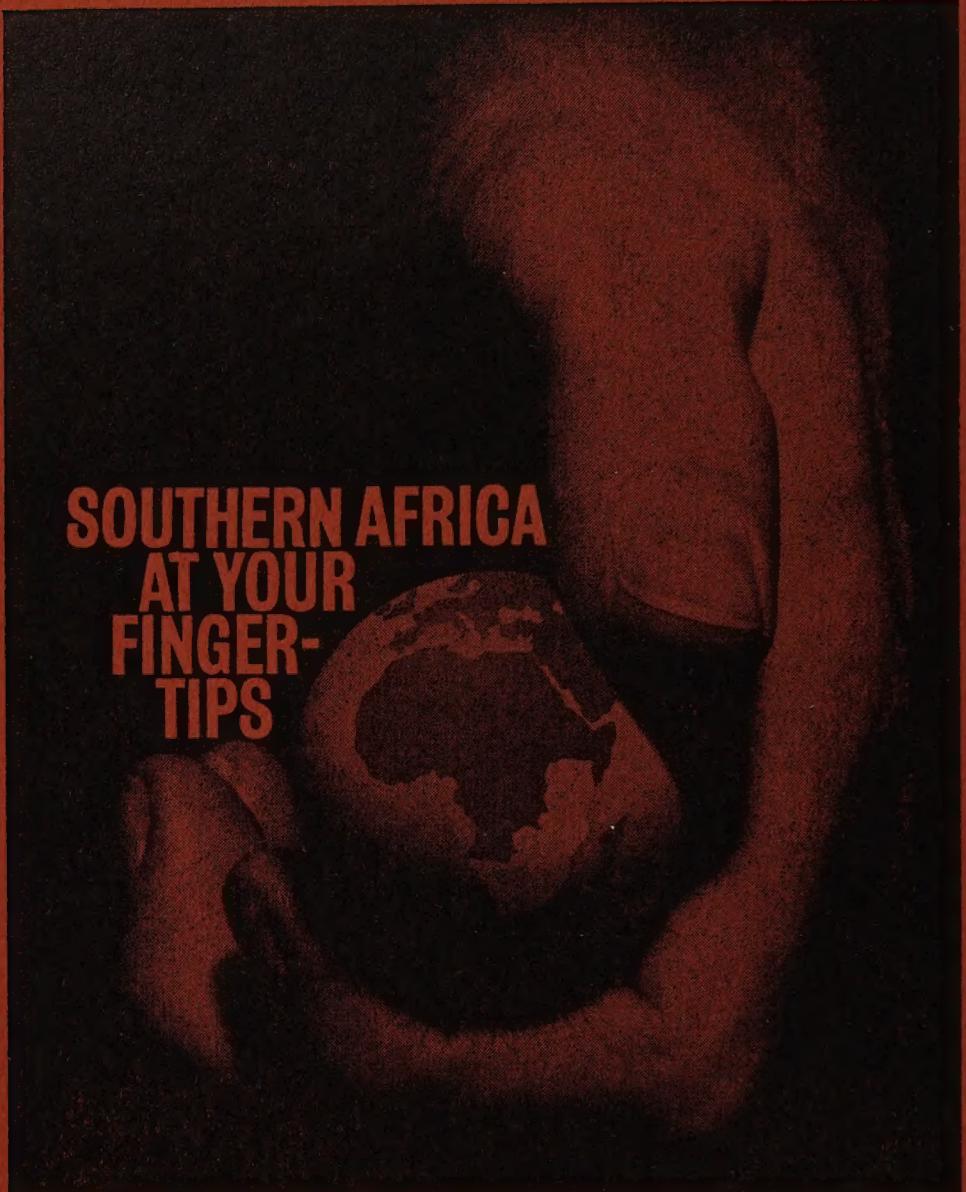
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